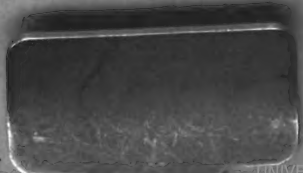


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July 7 1919

ZUR ENTWICKELUNG  
DER FUTUR-UMSCHREIBUNG WERDEN  
MIT DEM INFINITIV

VON  
MATHILDE KLEINER

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Hilfe meinen herzlichsten Dank ausspreche.*

*Mathilde Kleiner.*

*Berkeley, im April 1923.*



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## ABKÜRZUNGEN

- Aelfr. Hept. = Aelfrics Heptateuch. Aelfric de vetera et novo Testamento, hsg. von C. W. M. Grein. Cassel, 1872.
- Aelfr. Hom. = The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, hsg. von Benjamin Thorpe. London, 1844; 1846.
- Aelfr. L. S. = Aelfric's Lives of Saints, hsg. von W. M. Skeat. London, 1881.
- Alem. = Alemannia, Zeitschrift für Sprache, Literatur und Volkskunde des Elsaßes und Oberrheins. Bonn, 1873-1917.
- B. R. = Interlinearversion der Benedictiner-Regel. Denkmäler des Mittelalters, hsg. von Hattemer. (S. Texte.)
- Beow. = Beowulf, hsg. von Heyne. (S. Texte.)
- C. P. = Cura Pastoralis. King Aelfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, hsg. von Henry Sweet. London, 1871.
- Chron. = Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, hsg. von John Earle und Charles Plummer. Oxford, 1892.
- Gen. = Genesis. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, hsg. von Grein-Wülker. Leipzig, 1894. Bd. II.
- Germ. = Germania, Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Altertumskunde. Stuttgart-Wien, 1856-1892.
- Grimm = Deutsche Grammatik von Jacob Grimm. (S. Literatur.)
- Hel. = Heliand, hsg. von Heyne. (S. Texte.)
- Is. = Der althochdeutsche Isidor, hsg. von Hench. (S. Texte.)
- M. F. = Des Minnesangs Frühling, hsg. von Lachmann und Haupt. (S. Texte.)
- Mone = Schauspiele des Mittelalters, hsg. von Mone. (S. Texte.)
- Mons. = The Monsee Fragments, hsg. von Hench. (S. Texte.)
- N. = Die Schriften Notkers und seiner Schule, hsg. von Piper. (S. Texte.)
- O. = Otrfrids Evangelienbuch, hsg. von Erdmann. (S. Texte.)
- Oros. = King Alfred's Orosius, hsg. von Henry Sweet. London, 1883.
- Paul = Grundriß der germanischen Philologie, hsg. von Hermann Paul. (S. Literatur.)
- PBB. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. Halle, 1874ff.
- Tat. = Tatian, hsg. von Sievers. (S. Texte.)
- W. N. = Notkers Psalmen nach der Wiener Handschrift, hsg. von Heinzel und Scherer. (S. Texte.)

- Wackernagel = Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete, hsg. von Wackernagel.  
(S. Texte.)
- Wilmanns = Wilmanns, Deutsche Grammatik. III. (S. Literatur.)
- Wulfst. = Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien, hsg.  
von Arthur Napier. Berlin, 1883.
- Wunderlich = Wunderlich, Der deutsche Satzbau. (S. Literatur.)
- ZfdA. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum. Berlin, 1841ff.
- ZfdPh. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie. Halle, 1869ff.
- ZfdW. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung. Straßburg, 1901-  
1914.

ZUR ENTWICKELUNG  
DER FUTUR-UMSCHREIBUNG WERDEN  
MIT DEM INFINITIV

VON  
MATHILDE KLEINER

---

I

DIE ERSCHEINUNGSFORMEN VON WERDEN IN DEN  
ÄLTEREN GERMANISCHEN DIALEKTEN

A. ALLGEMEINES

Die neuhochdeutsche Sprache hat den Begriff der Zukunft genauer gefaßt als die andern germanischen Sprachen. *Werden* mit Inf. bezeichnet die reine abstrakte Zukunft. Die Form *ich werde gehen* drückt aus, daß die Handlung in der Zukunft vor sich gehen wird, abstrahiert aber von dem Willen der Person oder von einem Sollen oder Müssen, einer Verpflichtung oder Notwendigkeit, die zu der Handlung führt. Der Begriff der Futurität selbst ist konkret, real; die Form *ich werde gehen* läßt keinen Zweifel, daß die Handlung sich ereignen wird.

Zu Beginn der mittelhochdeutschen Periode dienten außer dem Präsens die Umschreibungen mit *sollen* und *wollen* als Ersatz für das fehlende Futurum. In den andern germanischen Sprachen ist dies noch heute der Fall.

Über die Entstehung von *werden* mit Inf. und über die Beeinflussung, welche diese Umschreibung in ihrer Bezeichnung des Futurums durch andere Formen erlitten hat, sind mannigfache Ansichten geäußert worden, auf die an einschlägiger Stelle verwiesen werden soll. Um ein klares Bild von der Möglichkeit

solcher Beeinflussung zu gewinnen, wollen wir hier *werden* in allen seinen Erscheinungsformen in den verschiedenen germanischen Dialekten verfolgen.

Die Hilfsverben *sollen* und *wollen* entwickelten den Begriff der Zukunft gleichsam als Nebenbegriff. Bei *werden* entspringt die futurische Bedeutung aus dem Grundbegriff des Wortes. Es geht zurück auf die indogermanische Wurzel *vert*, die ursprünglich die Bedeutung "sich drehen" gehabt zu haben scheint. Im Lateinischen erscheint es als *vertere*. Es ist dieser ursprünglichen Bedeutung sogar in seiner Entwicklung vom Indogermanischen zum Germanischen treu geblieben. Auf sie lassen sich auch heute noch die meisten Erscheinungsformen von *werden* zurückführen.

Im Indogermanischen erscheint das Wort nur als transitives Vollverb; im Germanischen tritt es sowohl als Vollverb wie als Hilfsverb auf und ist intransitiv. In beiden Wandlungen liegt also gewissermaßen eine Reduktion der Quantität, obwohl im ersteren Falle die Funktion erweitert wird. Die Aktionsart sowohl im Indogermanischen wie im Germanischen ist perfektiv.

Obige Wandlungen müssen sich in der Übergangsperiode vom Indogermanischen zum Germanischen vollzogen haben, denn im Gotischen sind sie schon vollendet; *wairþan* ist intransitiv.

## B. DIE DIALEKTE

### 1. GOTISCH

Obwohl im Gotischen wie in allen germanischen Sprachen das Präsens zur Bezeichnung der Zukunft genügte, überträgt Wulfila regelmäßig *ἔσται* durch *wairþiþ*, ausgenommen da, wo das griechische Futurum perfektive Auffassung nicht zuläßt.<sup>1</sup> Demgemäß erscheint *wairþan* als Kopula wie *wisan*.

In seiner Funktion als Vollverb entspricht *wairþan* dem griechischen *γίγνεσθαι* in der Bedeutung 'entstehen.' Bemerkenswert ist Wulfilas Übersetzung von *ἐγένετο* : *warþ gaskapans* Mc. 2,27.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Streitberg, Got. Elementarbuch, §302,b.

Auxiliarisch wird *wairþan* auch zur Bildung des Passivs benutzt. Für das Präs. Pass. hatte die Sprache noch einfache flektierte Formen; außerdem hatte sich das Gotische in den *-nan*-Verben ein Mittel geschaffen, das griechische Passiv durch aktive Formen wiederzugeben. Die Vergangenheitsformen des griechischen Passivs mußten aber durch Umschreibung ausgedrückt werden. Diesem Zwecke dient neben *was* und *ist* auch *warþ* mit dem Part. Prät.<sup>2</sup>

Die zukünftige Handlung wird im Gotischen fast nie besonders ausgedrückt. Nur einmal steht *wairþa* mit dem Part. Prät. für ein griechisches Fut. Pass.: *ni in waihtai gaaiwiskops wairþa* (*ἐν οὐδενὶ αἰσχυρῆ σόμῃ*) Phil. 1,10. An einer andern Stelle, Luc. 14,12, ist schon im Original mit *γίγνεσθαι* umschrieben.

In abhängigen Sätzen, die auf die Zukunft hinweisen, und in denen das Hilfsverb im Optativ steht, wird *wairþan* mit Part. Prät. nur gebraucht, wenn der Hauptsatz im Präs. steht und der Nebensatz auf eine entferntere Zukunft hinweist. Das ist zweimal der Fall: 1. Kor. 9,27 und Mc. 9,12. An ersterer Stelle übersetzt die Umschreibung wieder *γίγνεσθαι*.

Die unmittelbar bevorstehende Zukunft wird im Nebensatz durch *sijai* mit Part. Prät. ausgedrückt.

Steht im Hauptsatz das Prät., so werden im Nebensatz *wesjau* und *warþjau* ohne Unterschied futurisch gebraucht.

Zur Umschreibung aktivischer Tempora dient *wairþan* ebenso wie *wisan* mit dem Part. Präs. Wenn *wairþan* so gebraucht wird, so übersetzt es meistens *γίγνεσθαι*. Hierfür finden sich 9 Belege. In 4 Fällen, Mc. 9,3, Luc. 6,16, Luc. 9,29, 1. Th. 2,14, steht *wairþan* im Ind. Prät.; die Verbindung bezeichnet das Eintreten einer Handlung oder eines Zustandes in der Vergangenheit. In den übrigen Belegen, Luc. 6,36, Eph. 4,32, Eph. 5,1 und 17, Col. 3,15, ist *wairþan* im Konj. Präs. mit imperativischer Bedeutung gebraucht.

<sup>2</sup> Zahlenangabe nach Streitberg, Got. Elementarbuch,<sup>6</sup> §285,3: das Imperf. wird 17mal mit *was*, 7mal mit *warþ* umschrieben; das Perf. 50mal mit *ist*, 42mal mit *was* und 4mal mit *warþ*; das Plusquamperf. 5mal mit *was*; der Ind. Aor. 69mal mit *warþ*, 42mal mit *was* und 50mal mit *ist*.

Der Charakter der zu *wairþan* gehörigen Partizipien ist nicht immer nominal, wie ihn Gering (*ZfdPh.* V, 426) auffassen möchte: Luc. 6,16, Eph. 4,32, Eph. 5,1 sichern das zum Part. gehörige Objekt den verbalen Charakter.

Als Futur-umschreibung dient *wairþan* mit dem Part. Präs. dreimal. Mc. 13,25 and Luc. 17,35 steht im Original *ἔσται* mit dem Part. Präs.; Joh. 16,20 übersetzt die Umschreibung ein griechisches Fut. Pass., zu dessen Wiedergabe Wulfila ein sinnverwandtes Intransitiv wählt.

Niemals steht *wairþan* auxiliarisch neben einem Inf., trotzdem Wulfila die Verben des Anfangens mit dem Inf., nicht mit dem Part. konstruiert.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich über *wairþan* im Gotischen sagen:

1. Es ist intransitiv, nicht wie im Indogermanischen transitiv.
2. Neben seiner Bedeutung als Vollverb tritt es auxiliarisch auf:
  - a. als Kopula.
  - b. zur Bildung des Passivs der Vergangenheit.
  - c. zur Bildung des Fut. act. mit dem Part. Präs.
3. Niemals steht es auxiliarisch neben einem Inf.

## 2. ALTNORDISCH

Auch hier erscheint *verða* als Vollverb wie als Kopula.

Wie das Gotische schuf sich auch das Altnordische eine eigene Form der verbalen Genusunterscheidung. Zwar sind die Formen, die durch Anhängung des reflexiven *sik* gebildet werden, nicht streng passivisch wie die entsprechenden lateinischen Formen. Aber sie befähigen doch die Sprache, alle verschiedenen Bedeutungen der griechischen medialen Verben auszudrücken. In der Form *verðask* mag vielleicht noch eine Erinnerung an das indogermanische Transitiv zu Tage treten.

*Verða* wird neben *vesa* zur Bildung eines umschriebenen Passivs gebraucht, sowohl der Gegenwarts- als auch der Vergangenheitsformen. Jedoch ist diese Umschreibung mit *verða* in der alten

Sprache sehr selten. Ob die präsentische Form mit *verða* sowohl für die Gegenwart wie die Zukunft oder etwa ausschließlich für die letztere gebraucht wurde, müßte durch eine Einzeluntersuchung festgestellt werden.

Im Altnordischen wird das Futurum vornehmlich durch *mono* mit dem reinen Inf. umschrieben, bisweilen auch durch *skolo*. Wo *verða* mit dem Inf. erscheint, übersetzt es das deutsche "müssen," "in die Lage versetzt werden." Es kommt aber in einigen Fällen dem modernen *werden* in futurischer Bedeutung sehr nahe. Falk und Torp<sup>3</sup> fassen daher *verða* mit dem Inf. sowohl wie *verða at* mit Inf. als Futurumschreibung auf, im Gegensatz zu Gering,<sup>4</sup> der diese Formen mit "müssen" übersetzt. In *verða at* mag eine direkte Entsprechung des lateinischen *vertere ad* liegen.

Für *verða* neben einem Part. Präs. scheint die alte Sprache keine Belege zu bieten. Auch *vesa* mit Part. Präs. findet sich selten, so Háv. 18,4, Am. 4,2. Das Part. Präs. ist dem altnordischen volkstümlichen Stil überhaupt ziemlich fremd; erst in der Prosa ist unter Einfluß des Lateinischen der Gebrauch dieser Form erweitert.

Dem Altnordischen eigentümlich zu sein scheinen Formen von *verða* mit dem Part. Prät. wie *verða buinn* "fertig sein," *verða farinn* "fort sein." Diese Ausdrücke sind in der alten Sprache präsentisch; die moderne Sprache hat darin einen futurischen Sinn entwickelt, sodaß *eg verð buinn* heißt "ich werde fertig sein," *eg verð farinn* "ich werde fort sein."

### 3. ANGELSÄCHSISCH

Wie in den andern germanischen Sprachen genügt auch im Angelsächsischen das Präsens zum Ausdruck des Futurums, und zwar bedarf es nicht, wie in der Regel im Neuenglischen und Neu-hochdeutschen, einer Zeitbestimmung zur Verstärkung des futurischen Sinnes. Nur das Verb. subst. bildet wie im Gotischen eine Ausnahme von dieser Regel.

<sup>3</sup> Hjalmar Falk und Alf Torp, *Dansk-Norskens Syntax* S. 162.

<sup>4</sup> Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Liedern der Edda S. 1100.

Grimm und nach ihm fast alle andern Grammatiker waren der Meinung, daß sich die Sprache in den präsentischen Formen *beom*, *bist*, *bið*, *beoð* aus der Wurzel *bheu* ein Mittel geschaffen habe, das Futurum des Verb. subst. wiederzugeben.

K. Jost<sup>5</sup> hat die Verben *beon* und *wesan* zum Gegenstand einer Einzeluntersuchung gemacht, um für den Indikativ wenigstens die Bedeutung beider Verben genau festzulegen.

*Wesan* gebraucht er in seiner Arbeit als Stichwort für die Formen *eom*, *ear*, *is*, *sind*; *beon* für *beom*, *bist*, *bið*, *beoð*. In Kap. V faßt er die von Grimm und von den andern Grammatikern geäußerten Meinungen folgendermaßen zusammen: "Die Formen von *beon* und *wesan* bilden zusammen das Verbum subst. und stehen zu einander in einem Suppletivverhältnis; sie unterscheiden sich nicht durch ihren Vorstellungsinhalt, sondern lediglich in der Funktion, indem *wesan* die präsentische, *beon* die futurische Zeitstufe bildet."

Jost, der seiner Untersuchung für die älteste Periode den *Beowulf* und dann vornehmlich die *Cura pastoralis* zu Grunde legt, behauptet nun §7, daß entgegen obiger Ansicht *beon* im *Beowulf* futurisch 13mal, nicht futurisch dagegen 14mal, in der *Cura pastoralis* *beon* futurisch nur 12mal, nicht futurisch aber 675mal vorkomme.

Im weitem Gange seiner Untersuchung und nach Erwägung aller Belege kommt aber Jost, der in Bezug auf den Gebrauch der beiden Verben konkrete und abstrakte Sätze von einander scheidet, zu dem folgenden Ergebnis: Die Bedeutung von *beon* ist wirklich futurisch, wenn man futurisch in einem weitem Sinne faßt, als er gewöhnlich diesem Begriff beigelegt wird. In konkreten Sätzen bezeichnet *beon*:

1. Einen Zustand, der vom Standpunkt des Sprechenden in der Zukunft eintreten wird (fut. im engern Sinne).
2. Einen Zustand, der zwar schon in der Gegenwart besteht, dessen Fortdauer in der Zukunft aber ausdrücklich hervorgehoben werden soll.
3. Einen sich wiederholenden Zustand, aus dessen mehrmaliger Wiederkehr sein Wiedereintreten in der Zukunft erwartet werden kann.

*Wesan* hingegen drückt einen präsentischen Zustand aus, oder einen allgemeinen Zustand, dessen Dauer aber nicht ausdrücklich hervorgehoben wird (da sie sich von selbst versteht oder für den Zusammenhang gleichgültig ist).

<sup>5</sup> *Beon und Wesan. Eine syntaktische Untersuchung.* Heidelberg, 1909.



In abstrakten Sätzen, in denen *beon* die häufigste Verwendung findet, ist sein Gebrauch, wie Jost nachweist, im hypothetischen Satzgefüge sowie auch in Verbindung mit durativen und iterativen Zeitbestimmungen durchaus folgerichtig durchgeführt. Auch für diese Sätze beansprucht Jost futurische Bedeutung im weitern Sinne. Für hypothetische Sätze ist sie ohne weiteres klar; denn Bedingung und Folge sind futurisch. Iterativsätze sind futurisch, weil eine wiederholte Handlung nicht in der gegenwärtigen Zeitstufe ihren Abschluß finden kann; durative Sätze, "weil eine mit dem Präsens verbundene Zeitbestimmung der Dauer die Vorstellung über die Gegenwart hinaus in die Zukunft lenkt."

Die futurische Bedeutung von *beon* in abstrakten Sätzen, die nicht in diese Kategorie fallen, ist nicht so klar gefaßt, möchte sich wohl auch schwerlich beweisen lassen.

Josts Untersuchung ergibt, daß das Angelsächsische augenscheinlich den Begriff des Futurums erweiterte; daß die Sprache für diesen Begriff nach einem Ausdruck suchte und ihn in *beon* fand, da die präsentischen Formen von *wesan* ihr nicht genügten.

Die futurische Bedeutung von *beon* sucht Jost so zu erklären:<sup>6</sup>

Die Form geht wahrscheinlich auf ein punktuelles Präsens zurück (vgl. Delbrück, Vergleich. Syntax II, S. 90 und 257). Demnach unterschieden sich die von *bheu* gebildeten Formen ursprünglich von den von der Wurzel *es* gebildeten in der Aktionsart: diese waren imperfektiv, jene perfektiv (Delbrück II, 256). Eine deutliche Nachwirkung dieses einstigen Zustandes ist in der futurischen Bedeutung zu erkennen, die *beon* noch behielt, nachdem es imperfektive Aktionsart angenommen hatte.

Es möchte in diesem Zusammenhang von Interesse sein, die aus der gleichen Wurzel wie angelsächsisch *beon* stammenden lateinischen Formen zu betrachten. Sanskrit *bheu* erscheint im Lateinischen als Wurzel *fu*, im Griechischen als  $\phi\nu$ . Zu dieser Wurzel gehört *fiō*, das aus *fuio* entstanden ist. Da die Wurzel *fu* eigentlich 'entstehen,' 'werden' bedeutet, so erklärt sich, daß *fiō* für *faciō* gebraucht wird. Die von *faciō* gebildeten Formen sind daher selten. Dies zeigt die *fiō* innewohnende passive Bedeutung, die aus der Wurzel entspringt und demgemäß aus ihr abgeleitete Formen zur Bildung des Passivs geeignet machen mußte. Die zu

<sup>6</sup> §238.

*fio* gehörenden Formen des Nominalstammes sind gleichfalls von der Wurzel *fu* abgeleitet: Part. *futurus*, -a, -um und Inf. *futurum esse*. Ebenso stammt *fui* aus der Wurzel *fu*. Dies bestärkt die Annahme Delbrücks (Syntax III, 12), daß die Wurzel *bheu* 'wachsen,' 'werden' mit *es* vielleicht schon in der Urzeit eine Verbindung eingegangen sei. Es beweist gleichzeitig, daß angelsächsisch *beon* zum Verb. subst. gehört, da im Indogermanischen schon eine Verschmelzung der Wurzeln *bheu* und *es* stattgefunden hatte.

Das Vollverb *beon* hat seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung 'werden' noch nicht ganz verloren. Daraus erklärt auch Jost, daß in konkreten Sätzen diese Bedeutung nicht durch *wesan* wiedergegeben werden kann, da sie *wesan* an sich nicht innewohnt. Jost nimmt sogar an, daß dem Vollverb *beon* gelegentlich noch perfektive Bedeutung zukommen möge, z. B. Beow. 1762.

Auxiliarisch erscheint *beon* als Kopula, zur Bildung des Passivs und zur Umschreibung des Futurums.

Es ist mithin ersichtlich, daß *beon* nicht allein in seinem Vorstellungsinhalt *weorðan* entspricht, sondern daß es zugleich fähig ist, alle Funktionen dieses Verbs zu übernehmen.

In §1 seiner Untersuchung behauptet Jost, daß das Verb. subst. mit seinen präsentischen Doppelformen ein Beweis gegen die Erfahrungstatsache der Sprachwissenschaft sei, daß gleichwertige Formen nicht viele Jahrhunderte beibehalten werden, daß entweder eine der Formen untergehe oder die Sprache diese Formen ohne bewußte Absicht differenziere. Josts Untersuchung beschäftigt sich aber durchweg damit, eine solche Differenzierung nachzuweisen; und daß ihm dies gelingt, zeigt die Zusammenfassung seiner Ergebnisse §§248-250.

Mit mehr Recht könnte man vielleicht das Nebeneinanderbestehen von *beon* und *weorðan* als einen Gegenbeweis gegen obige Erfahrung anführen. Auch hier werden sich aber bei näherer Untersuchung Differenzierungen finden lassen, die sich notwendigerweise aus der Aktionsart der beiden Verben ergeben müssen. *Beon*, aus seiner Wurzel zu schließen, muß einmal perfektiv gewesen sein. In literarischer Zeit ist es imperfektiv, wenngleich

vielleicht noch einzelne Beispiele des Vollverbs *beon* perfektive Aktionsart annehmen lassen.

Eine ähnliche Wandlung nimmt Wilmanns III, 135 für *werden* als Hilfsverb des Passivs in Anspruch.

Was *weorðan* vor allen Dingen lebenskräftig machen mußte, war der Mangel an Vergangenheitsformen bei *beon*. Wie im Gotischen mußte auch hier *weorðan* eintreten, da naturgemäß auch das Angelsächsische nach einem Ausdruck für das Eintreten einer Handlung oder eines Zustandes in der Vergangenheit suchte in den Fällen, wo ihm allenfalls *beon* für die futurische Zeitstufe noch ein Ausdrucksmittel bot. Besonders mußte sich dieser Mangel in den Vergangenheitsformen des Passivs fühlbar machen. Der tatsächliche Gebrauch von *weorðan* entspricht dieser Notwendigkeit.

*Weorðan* erscheint im Angelsächsischen in den nämlichen Funktionen wie in den übrigen germanischen Sprachen. Als Vollverb entwickelte es neben seiner Grundbedeutung 'geschehen,' 'entstehen' auch die Bedeutung eines Verbs der Bewegung, besonders in Verbindung mit Präpositionen und Adverbien. Es entspricht dann dem englischen *to come, to get*.<sup>7</sup> Wülfing<sup>8</sup> setzt außer 'kommen' sogar die Bedeutung 'sich entfernen' an.

Als Kopula weist der Gebrauch von *weorðan* keine Besonderheiten auf.

*Weorðan* mit dem Part. Prät. transitiver Verben dient neben *wesan* und *beon* zur Bildung des Passivs. Eine Einzeluntersuchung wäre auch hier zu wünschen, um festzustellen, ob sich für präsentes *weorðan* mit dem Part. Prät. im Angelsächsischen Belege in rein präsenter Bedeutung finden, oder ob diese Formen immer futurisch, wenigstens im weitern Sinne, aufzufassen sind. Grimm IV, 19 erwähnt als Hilfsverb der Futurumschreibung nur *beon*. Zu gleichem Ergebnis kommt Schrader in seinen *Studien zur Aelfric'schen Syntax*. Köhler<sup>9</sup> sagt über den Gebrauch der passivumschreibenden Verben im Angelsächsischen:

<sup>7</sup> Beispiele bei Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, IV, 1201.

<sup>8</sup> Die *Syntax* in den Werken Alfreds des Großen, §383.

<sup>9</sup> Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im *Beowulf*, S. 80.

Das Hilfsverb *weorðan* unterscheidet sich in seinem Gebrauch mit dem Part. Praet. wesentlich von *wesan*. Ersteres dient in präs. Form zur Umschreibung des Praes. Pass. oder des Fut. Pass., während es niemals zum Ausdruck des Perf. Pass. verwendet wird. Im Praet. wird es ebenso wie *wesan* zur Bildung des Imp. Pass. gebraucht, hingegen niemals zur Bildung des Plusquamperf. Pass. . . . Durch *beon* wird im Ags. das Praes. Pass. umschrieben, welches alsdann meist futurische Bedeutung hat.

Über die Umschreibung mit *wesan* sagt er:<sup>10</sup>

*Wesan* verbindet sich sowohl mit dem Part. praet. trans. als auch mit dem intrans. Verba. Mit ersterem verbunden dient das Praes. (bezw. Praet.) des Hilfsverbs zur Umschreibung des Perf. (bezw. Plusquamperf.) des Passivs, während mit letzterem das Perf. des Aktivs umschrieben wird.

Der Inf. Pass. im Angelsächsischen ist lateinischen Ursprungs. Er wird in der Regel mit *beon* und dem Part. Prät., selten mit *weorðan* oder *wesan* gebildet. Callaway<sup>11</sup> unterscheidet die Formen folgendermaßen:

I do not see any difference in sense between the passive infinitive made with *beon* and that made with *wesan*, but that made with *weorðan* denotes, originally at any rate, an "imperfect" action, while the other two denote a "perfect" action in the technical sense of the terms.

Im Beowulf ist das passive Präsens äußerst selten. Nur einmal kommt *weorðan* mit dem Part. Prät. eines transitiven Verbs vor: *siððan æfen-leóht under heofenes haðor beholen weorðeð*, 413. Köhler<sup>12</sup> gibt vier Belege für *beon*: 1745, 1838, 2064, 2450. Nader<sup>13</sup> gibt nur 1838 und 2064. Jost läßt 1838 nicht gelten, da er das Part. prädikativ mit *feorcyððe* verbindet und es sich dann überhaupt nicht um eine zusammengesetzte Zeitform handelt. Der Sinn der mit *beon* gebildeten Passiva ist futurisch.

Wesentlich häufiger ist die Umschreibung des pass. Prät. im Beowulf. Die Verbindung mit *wesan* überwiegt bei weitem; nach Nader<sup>14</sup> findet sich *wæs* mit Part. Prät. etwa 50mal, *wearð* nur etwa 10mal; einmal steht das verstärkte *gewearð* 3061.

<sup>10</sup> S. 78.

<sup>11</sup> The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, S. 83.

<sup>12</sup> S. 80.

<sup>13</sup> Tempus und Modus im Beowulf. Anglia X, 561ff.

<sup>14</sup> S. 562.

Ebenso wird *geweorðan* einmal zur Bildung eines Plusquamperf. Pass. gebraucht, 1303. Hier liest aber Heyne in der zehnten Auflage: *Cearu wæs geniwod, geworden in wicum*. Er betrachtet also die Partizipien als syntaktisch gleichwertig.

Für den Inf. pass. bietet der Beowulf ein Beispiel mit *wesan*, 3021. An einer andern Stelle, 2256, will Köhler *wesan* ergänzen. 3178 ergänzt Holthausen in seiner Ausgabe *lysed*, während Kemble und Heyne *læne* haben. Nach Holthausens Lesart wäre die Stelle ein Beleg für einen mit *weorðan* gebildeten pass. Inf.

Der sächsischen Sprache eigentümlich ist die Verknüpfung von *weorðan* mit dem Part. Prät. intransitiver Verben.

Für diese Verbindung bietet der Beowulf zwei Beispiele: 823 und 1234. Zu letzterer Stelle: *swa hit agangan wearð eorla manegum* bemerkt Köhler:<sup>15</sup> "*agangan* hat hier, obwohl intransitiv, die Bedeutung und Konstruktionsweise eines Transitivs angenommen, etwa = bestimmen." Es handelt sich aber um Verangenes. Heyne übersetzt richtiger: "wie es der Ritter manchem ergangen war," obwohl auch dies nach dem modernen Sprachgebrauch die eigentlich inchoative Bedeutung von *wearð* nicht wiedergibt. Grimm<sup>16</sup> hat etwas unklar "so erging es," faßt also das *swa* demonstrativ auf, ohne aber zu erklären, worauf es sich nun beziehen soll.

Das zweite Beispiel: *Danum eallum wearð willa gelumpen* gibt Köhler unter den Belegen für *weorðan* mit dem Part. Prät. transitiver Verben an. Die Konstruktion ist zwar die eines transitiven Verbs, aber sie unterscheidet sich von der von *agangan* 1234 lediglich durch das bestimmtere Subjekt *willa*, das als abstrakter Begriff (wie auch *þearf* 1234) dem unpersönlichen Charakter des unzweifelhaft intransitiven Verbs in keiner Weise widerstreitet und in gleichem Zusammenhang noch heute gebraucht wird (vgl. Dein Wille geschehe).

*Weorðan* mit dem Part. Prät. eines Intransitivs entwickelt gelegentlich futurische Bedeutung. Grein<sup>17</sup> gibt folgendes Beispiel: *gien þe sunu weorðeð þurh gebyrd cumen*. Gen. 2195.

<sup>15</sup> S. 80.

<sup>16</sup> Gramm. IV, 7.

<sup>17</sup> C. Grein. Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter, S. 777.

Periphrastisch mit dem Part. Präs. findet sich *weorðan* nur selten. Constance Pessels<sup>18</sup> hat alle periphrastischen Formen des Angelsächsischen zusammengestellt; darunter finden sich 7 Belege für *weorðan*. Von den 3 Beispielen, die nach ihr zur Umschreibung der Vergangenheit dienen, Oros. 216,21; Aelfr. L. S. 23, B. 725,1; Aelfr. Hom. 1520,4 stimmt der letzte Beleg nicht; der Text hat *wæs cwēðende*, nicht *weorð*.

Von den andern Beispielen, in denen *weorðan* in präsentischer Form steht, weisen Chron. 675 E. (36,33) und Wulfst. 70,18 ein Präsens auf, dem aber futurische Bedeutung nicht abzuspüren ist. C. P. 413,23 und Aelfr. Hept. G. 42,38 haben deutlich futurischen Sinn, wie der lateinische Text beweist.

Zu Pessels Belegen ließe sich noch folgendes Beispiel hinzufügen: C. P. 405,25 *ðin eagan weorðað gesionde ðinne bebiodend, ðin earan gehirað underbæc (et erunt oculi tui videntes praeceptorem tuum et aures tuae audient)*. Im Lateinischen wie auch im Angelsächsischen ist das Part. hier nominal. Trotzdem dient die Verbindung deutlich als Futurumschreibung, wie das der Partizipialkonstruktion koordinierte lateinische Fut. *audient* zeigt. Dies macht klar, wie schwer oft die Scheidung zwischen nominaler Partizipialkonstruktion und Futurumschreibung ist. Unter den von Pessels in Fußnoten vermerkten Verbindungen von *weorðan* mit adjektivischem Part. Präs. möchten sich daher vielleicht auch Beispiele finden, in denen die Verbindung je nach der Auffassung als nominal wie auch als Umschreibung gelten kann.

Für *weorðan* mit dem reinen aktiven Inf. scheint sich im Angelsächsischen kein Beleg zu finden. Die von Nader S. 554 fälschlich für diese Konstruktion angeführten Beispiele aus dem Beowulf sind oben besprochen worden. Es handelt sich in beiden Fällen um das Part. Prät., nicht um den Inf.

Zusammenfassend mag über angelsächsisch *weorðan* gesagt werden:

1. In allen Funktionen erleidet es Einbuße durch *beon*, das gleiche Grundbedeutung, aber nur präsentische Formen hat, die meist in futurischem Sinne gebraucht werden.

<sup>18</sup> The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon. Straßburg, 1896.

2. In seiner Funktion als Vollverb entwickelt es neben seiner Grundbedeutung die Bedeutung eines Verbs der Bewegung.

3. Als Kopula weist es keine Besonderheiten auf.

4. Mit dem Part. Prät. trans. Verben dient es zur Bildung des Passivs, vornehmlich der Vergangenheitsformen.

5. In seiner Verbindung mit dem Part. Prät. intrans. Verben entwickelt es gelegentlich futurische Bedeutung.

6. Nur selten steht es mit dem Part. Präs. zur Umschreibung einer einfachen Zeit.

7. Nie steht es mit dem akt. Inf.

8. Es ist später erloschen.

#### 4. ALTSÄCHSISCH

Im Altsächsischen hat das Verb. subst. keine Doppelformen. Von *bheu* stammen die erste und zweite Person Ind. Präs. ab, und diesen Formen ist die ursprünglich futurisch perfektive Bedeutung der Wurzel ganz verloren gegangen; sie sind rein präsensisch wie die aus der Wurzel *es* stammenden übrigen Formen des Ind. Präs. Die Funktionen, die im Angelsächsischen die von *bheu* gebildeten Formen übernahmen, weil in ihnen der futurische Begriff noch lebendig war, müssen im Altsächsischen durch ein anderes Verb ihren Ausdruck finden; und dazu eignet sich am besten das bedeutungsverwandte *werðan*, das auch schon im Angelsächsischen in den Vergangenheitsformen für *beon* eintreten mußte. Naturgemäß konnte das perfektive *werðan* in manchen Fällen, in denen im Angelsächsischen das imperfektive *beon* das Ausdrucksmittel bot, eben infolge seiner Aktionsart nicht verwendet werden.

*Werðan* im Altsächsischen ist durchaus das Verb der Zukunft in allen seinen Funktionen.

Behagel, Syntax des Heliand, handelt §96 über den Ind. Präs. Er stellt fest, daß diese Zeitform dazu dient, eine Tatsache der Zukunft zu bezeichnen, and zwar allgemein bei *werðan*; bei andern Verben unter bestimmten syntaktischen Verhältnissen, wenn nämlich eine deutlich auf die Zukunft weisende Verbalform vorangeht, und nur vereinzelt ohne diesen besondern Umstand. Zu den Formen, die deutlich auf die Zukunft hinweisen, zählt Behagel

neben *scal* und *mag* mit Inf., dem Cohortativ und dem Imperativ auch *werðan*. Dem altsächsischen *werðan* wohnt also nicht nur der Begriff der Zukunft an sich inne, sondern es ist auch befähigt, diesen Begriff auf eine ganze Gruppe auszudehnen.

Auch im Altsächsischen hat das Vollverb *werðan* die Nebenbedeutung eines Verbs der Bewegung, vornehmlich in Verbindung mit Adverbien und Präpositionen.

Neben *werðan* als Vollverb tritt häufig das verstärkte *giwerðan* auf, was bemerkenswert ist, weil sonst die Sprache das perfektivierende Präfix *gi* vermeidet bei Verben, die an sich schon perfektive Bedeutung haben.

Mit dem Part. Prät. erscheint *werðan* im Präs. und Prät. zur Bildung des Passivs. Wo es im Präs. auftritt, ist der Sinn des Satzes fast ausschließlich futurisch, so Hel. 165, 1379, 1647, 2052, 2153, 2451, 3523, 3527, 3528, 3694, 4010, 4321, 4352, 4463, 4568; Genesis 145, 146. Nur Hel. 1071 könnte ganz präsentisch gefaßt werden.

Mit Part. Prät. von aktiver Bedeutung kommt *werðan* im Präs. und Prät. vor, besonders häufig mit *cuman*. Die Part. gehören ausschließlich zu perfektiven Verben. Über diese Verbindung sagt Behaghel §301, III:

Die Gruppe steht in ihrer Bedeutung dem Verbum finitum der entsprechenden Begriffe nahe; es wird aber der Perfektivbegriff noch anschaulicher hervorgehoben als beim Verbum finitum. Und zwar wird, wo überhaupt eine besondere Art der Perfektivbedeutung deutlicher hervortritt, der Abschluß der Handlung nachdrücklicher betont. Dafür bieten namentlich die Gruppen Belege, die das Prät. von *werðan* enthalten. Die Präsensverbindung neigt stark dazu, einen futurischen Verbalbegriff zu bezeichnen.

Behaghel sieht somit in der letzteren Verbindung eine Annäherung an Futurumschreibung. Darin weicht er ab von Grimm, der Gramm. IV, 7 der Meinung ist, daß sächs. *werðan* genau wie *wesan* konstruiert werde, mit dem Unterschied, daß *is cuman* das Prät., *wirðit cuman* das Präs. umschreibe. *Was cuman* und *warð cuman* können nach Grimm ganz dasselbe aussagen. Er sieht in dieser Verknüpfung den Versuch der Sprache "den aktiven Begriff des Entstehens auszudrücken."



Für *werðan* neben einem Part. Präs. bietet der Heliand 2 Belege: *Tho warð im thes an sorgun hugi, mōd mornōndi*, 720; *wurðun imu is wangun liohte, blīkandi so thiū berhta sunna*, 3125. In beiden Fällen steht *werðan* im Prät. und die Verbindung ist sekundär. Daß sie erst in der Fortsetzung eines angefangenen Gedankens entstanden ist, zeigt, wie ungeläufig die Konstruktion dem Verfasser des Heliand gewesen sein muß; es läßt auch darauf schließen, daß das Part. mehr nominal als verbal gefühlt wurde.

*Werðan* mit Inf. kommt im Heliand nicht vor. Die Futurumschreibungen im Altsächsischen sind *mōtan*, *mugan*, *uuillean*, vornehmlich aber *sculan* mit Inf. Über diese Verben sagt Behaghel, §298:

Die Ind. des Präs. der Verba *mōtan*, *mugan*, *sculan*, *uuillean* mit dem Inf. werden infolge einer metonymischen Vertauschung von Ursache and Wirkung auch da verwendet, wo der Zusammenhang keinen Zweifel darüber läßt, daß die Handlung schließlich auch wirklich eintritt, die erlaubt oder möglich ist, die verlangt oder beabsichtigt wird: die Gruppe kommt der einheitlichen Bedeutung des Futurums nahe.

## 5. ALTHOCHDEUTSCH

### a. PASSIV

*Werden* in seinem Gebrauch als Vollverb und als Kopula zeigt keine Besonderheiten. In diesen Funktionen übersetzt es in präsentischer Form sowohl *erit* als auch *fiet*, vgl. Is. 11,2; 12,4; 22,15; Tat. 77,4; 121,3; 145,1, 14; 147,2. Die Behauptung Wunderlichs,<sup>19</sup> daß bei den älteren deutschen Übersetzern *factus est* stets durch *wirdit* übertragen wird, erweist sich als irrig. Im Isidor gibt *wirdit* allerdings einmal das lateinische *factus est* wieder (22,9); die Tempusverschiedenheit ist aber, wie Öberg<sup>20</sup> nachweist, vom Verfasser beabsichtigt aus didaktisch-theologischen Gründen; sie erklärt sich daraus, daß es sich um eine prophetische Aussage handelt, die erst in der Zukunft erfüllt wird.

In andern Fällen gibt der Übersetzer des Isidor *factus est* durch *uuardh uuordan* wieder, so 22,6, 19; 24,7; 37,5. *Uuardh chiuuordan* für *factus est* findet sich 21,16 und 24,16; *ist uuordan* 17,5.

<sup>19</sup> Der deutsche Satzbau, I, 136.

<sup>20</sup> Über die hochdeutsche Passivumschreibung mit Sein und Werden, S. 33.

Tatian hat dafür *uwas giuuortan* 68,1; 69,1; 70,1; 92,2; 185,9; 244,2; daneben *uurdun uuortan* für *facti sunt* 217,4. *Uuard uuortan* übersetzt *factum esset* 212,1 und *uuard giuuortan:factus fuisset* 12,2. Für *factus est*=*wirdit* findet sich bei Tatian kein Beleg. Sinngemäß kann überhaupt das Präsens eines Perfektivs, das notwendigerweise auf die Zukunft hinweist, ein lateinisches Perfektum, das die abgeschlossene Handlung bezeichnet, nicht wiedergeben.

Auch im Althochdeutschen hat das Vollverb *werdan* in Verbindung mit Präpositionen und Adverbien oft die Bedeutung *kommen, gelangen*, vgl. Tat. 4,13; 6,3; 13,1; 147,5; Otfrid IV, 19,60.

Der Hauptunterschied zwischen dem gotischen Passiv und dem Passiv aller andern germanischen Dialekte besteht darin, daß den letzteren das im Gotischen noch vorhandene flexivische Präs. Pass. fehlt. Es war diesen Dialekten vorbehalten, durch Umschreibungen eine Ausdrucksform auch für dieses Tempus zu gewinnen. Nirgends wohl tritt diese Entwicklung und der Kampf um die geeignete Bezeichnung deutlicher hervor als im Althochdeutschen. Die beiden passivumschreibenden Hilfsverben sind auch hier *wesan* und *werdan*.

Über die Schwierigkeiten, mit denen die Sprache kämpfte, und über die frühesten Ausdrucksformen gewinnen wir ein klares Bild in der Isidorübersetzung und in den Monseer Fragmenten, die aus dem Ende des 8. Jh. von demselben Verfasser herrühren. Grimm IV, 13 ist der Meinung, daß der Isidorübersetzer außerordentlich schwanke und daß sich bei ihm noch keine Temporalunterschiede gesetzt zu haben scheinen. Öberg<sup>21</sup> hingegen, der die hochdeutsche Passivumschreibung untersucht und in historischer Darstellung klargelegt hat, kommt zu dem Schluß, daß die Isidorischen Passivumschreibungen keineswegs willkürlich, ohne jeglichen Tempusunterschied gebraucht werden:

Im Gegenteil, nirgends in der ältesten althochdeutschen Periode treten uns die Tempusunterschiede der verschiedenen Umschreibungen schärfer entgegen als eben in diesem Denkmal, das ja auch sonst wegen seiner sprachlichen und stilistischen Verdienste berühmt ist.

<sup>21</sup> a. a. O. S. 34.

Auch Wunderlich<sup>22</sup> weist auf das feine Verständnis des Isidor-übersetzers und seine Sicherheit in der Anwendung der Passivformen und in der Unterscheidung der beiden Hilfsverben hin.

Öberg<sup>23</sup> gibt folgende schematische Übersicht über den Gebrauch der Passivformen im Isidor:

- I. *ist* (*st*, *wesan*) umschreibt
  1. das Praes. des Indikativs (*ist*)
  2. das Perf. a) des Indikativs (*ist*)
    - b) des Konjunktivs (*st*)
    - c) des Infinitivs (*wesan*)
- II. *was* (*wári*) kommt nur einmal, zufälligerweise im Konjunktiv vor.
- III. *ward* (*wurđi*) umschreibt allein das Praeteritum, wobei die Konjunktivform die futurische Bedeutung annehmen kann, die sonst nur dem Praesens *wirdit* und *werde* zukommt.
- IV. *wirdit* (*werde*, *werdan*) umschreibt
  1. das Praesens a) des Konjunktivs (*werde*)
    - b) des Infinitivs (*werdan*)
  2. das Futurum (*wirdit*)

Zur Wiedergabe des Präs. Pass. hatte das Althochdeutsche also vorerst *ist* mit dem Part. Prät. gewählt. Diese Umschreibung hatte das Gotische gleichfalls; aber *ist* mit Part. Prät. ist im Gotischen Perfektum und hält den präteritalen Charakter im Ind. durchaus fest. Anders verhält es sich mit dem Konjunktiv. Neben der flexivischen Form dringen Umschreibungen mit *sijai* und *wairpai* in den Konj. Präs. ein. Demgemäß geht der Umschreibung *sijai* mit Part. Prät. bisweilen die präteritale Bedeutung verloren; *wisan* ist mithin als Passivumschreibung des Präsens schon im Gotischen in die Sprache aufgenommen. Es kann daher nicht verwundern, daß das Althochdeutsche diese Verschiebung auch für den Ind. versuchte. Manchmal zwar gibt *ist* mit Part. Prät. lateinische Präsensformen wieder, die tatsächlich Geschehnisse der Vergangenheit erzählen.<sup>24</sup> Aber es finden sich doch auch Fälle, wo die Umschreibung präsentisch zu fassen ist, z. B. Is. 15,4ff. Der Beleg enthält *verba sentiendi*, die sich nicht

<sup>22</sup> a. a. O. I, 141 und 139, note 2.

<sup>23</sup> S. 34.

<sup>24</sup> Wunderlich a. a. O. I, 139.

nur auf den erzählenden Verfasser beziehen, sondern den Leser der Gegenwart einschließen; daher die erste Person Pl. Außerdem beheben die vorangehenden aktiven Gegenwartsformen jeden Zweifel über die Tempusbedeutung der passiven Form.

Für die Umschreibung eines Konj. Präs. mit *st* bietet Isidor keinen Beleg.

Der Inf. Präs. Pass. wird immer mit *werdan* umschrieben; die mit *wesan* gebildeten Infinitivformen sind nach Öberg sämtlich Perfekta.

Zur Bildung des Konj. Präs. Pass. dient *werde*. Die Belege beschränken sich auf vier koordinierte Finalsätze (26,2ff.) und zwei Beispiele hypothetischen Inhalts (3,15 und 26,10). Von der solchen Sätzen innewohnenden futurischen Bedeutung ist schon oben gehandelt worden.

Im Ind. Präs. umschreibt *werdan* das Fut., nie das Präs. (5,21; 12,2; 27,12; 33,20; 34,16; 38,19). Auch da, wo *wirdit* einem lateinischen Perfektum entspricht, wie in dem oben besprochenen Beleg 22,9, ist der Sinn des Satzes futurisch. Dieselbe beabsichtigte Tempusänderung zeigt 24,3; auch hier handelt es sich um eine prophetische Aussage, deren Erfüllung in der Zukunft liegt.

In Bezug auf die präsentischen Formen von *werdan* in der Isidorübersetzung sagt Öberg S. 33:

Nach alledem, was wir schon über die Verwendung von *werdan*, wenigstens im Indikativ und Konjunktiv, erfahren haben, ist es unstreitig, daß die futurale Bedeutung das Charakteristische für diese Formen ist.

Übrigens sieht auch Weinhold<sup>25</sup> in der Verwendung des Vollverbs *werdan* in präsentischer Form zur Übersetzung des lateinischen *erit* eine Umschreibung des Futurums.

Die Belegstelle für *was* (*wári*) in Öbergs Übersicht findet sich 38, 6.

Für *ward*, welches das Prät. Ind. Pass. umschreibt, gibt es eine ganze Reihe von Belegen; sie sind zusammengestellt bei Öberg S. 26ff. und in Henchs Glossar S. 186.

In den kleineren Denkmälern dieser Zeit herrscht nicht die gleiche Sicherheit in der Anwendung der Passivformen und in der

<sup>25</sup> Isidor. S. 129.

Scheidung der beiden Auxiliaria. Sie veranschaulichen in ihrer Gesamtheit deutlicher das Suchen jener Zeit nach den geeigneten Ausdrucksformen.

Beachtenswert ist, daß in den Murbacher Hymnen aus dem Beginn des 9. Jh. der Verfasser zur Übersetzung eines lateinischen Präsens einmal (V, 2) neben *ist* zur Auswahl *wirdit* hinzufügt.

Im Laufe des 9. Jh. greifen die Passivformen mit *werdan* immer mehr um sich. Im Tatian aus der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jh. werden beide passivumschreibende Hilfsverben bereits unterschiedslos in allen Formen des Passivs angewandt.<sup>28</sup> Mit der Zeit gewinnt *werdan* im Präs. wie auch im einfachen Prät. die Oberhand. Von 92 Belegen aus Glossensammlungen des 9. Jh., die nach Öberg alle einfachen lateinischen Zeitformen entsprechen, sind nur 19 mit *wesan* umschrieben, darunter 10 mit *st* = lat. Präs. Konj. In solchen Konjunktivsätzen wird auch im modernen Deutsch häufig das Zustandspassiv für das Handlungspassiv gebraucht, *sein* für *werden*.

Erdmanns Untersuchung der Syntax Otrfrids ergibt in Bezug auf die Ausdrucksformen des Passivs das Folgende:

1. *ich bin* mit Part. Prät. = Perf. (Futur. exact.) Pass. Dazu § 368:

Überall drückt diese Umschreibung einen—durch eine frühere Tätigkeit herbeigeführten—Zustand aus, entspricht also vollkommen dem lat. Perf. Pass. . . . . Niemals finde ich den Ind. von *sin* mit dem Part. Praet. gleich dem Praesens des Passivs von Otfried gebraucht, welches er mit *ih wirdu* umschreibt. . . . Auf die Zukunft bezogen entspricht das Praesens von *sin* mit Part. Praet. dem lateinischen Futurum exactum. I, 4,36; I, 6,7; IV, 2,32.

2. *was* mit Part. Prät. = lat. Plusquamperf. Pass.

Diese Umschreibung gibt einen in früherer Zeit abgeschlossenen vorhandenen Zustand an, stets deutlich unterschieden von der Umschreibung mit *ward*, die den Eintritt in einen solchen erzählt. Bei Vergleichung mit einer im einfachen Praeteritum erzählten Handlung bezeichnet die Umschreibung mit *was* stets deutlich einen vor der Handlung vollendeten Zustand (§368).

3. *wirdit* mit Part. Prät. = Präs. oder Fut. Pass.

*Werdan* mit dem Part. Praet. verbunden drückt den Übergang in den vom Part. bezeichneten Zustand ohne eigene Tätigkeit des Subjekts aus. Es ist also die geeignetste Umschreibung der leidenden Form, des Passivums.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. Öbergs schematische Übersicht, S. 46.

. . . . . Otfred unterscheidet diese Umschreibung deutlich von der mit *sin*; *wirdit irfullit* gilt als Praesens oder Futurum, *ward irfullit* als erzählendes Praeteritum des Passivs; die Conjunktive *werde* und *wurti* kommen allerdings dem Gebrauche von *si* und *wari* nahe. (§372).

Mit Recht weist Wilmanns III, 137 darauf hin, wie sparsam Otfred in der Anwendung von *wirdit* mit Part. Prät. in präsentischer im Vergleich mit futurischer Bedeutung ist; es finden sich im ganzen nur 3 Belege: II, 12,48; III, 16,37; V, 6,61. Wilmanns bemerkt, daß diese Belege Sätze von allgemeiner Geltung seien, daß mithin der Ind. nicht zur Bezeichnung der eigentlichen Gegenwart gebraucht sei. Dies scheint übrigens nur in Bezug auf die ersten zwei Beispiele zuzutreffen, nicht aber auf V, 6,61.

Notker gebraucht im wesentlichen die gleichen Passivumschreibungen wie Otfred, aber ohne die bei letzterem bemerkten Einschränkungen. Irgend eine Zagheit im Gebrauch einzelner Formen ist nicht mehr zu spüren; *wirdit* mit Part. Prät. als Präsensumschreibung ist ihm durchaus geläufig. Zur Bildung des passiven Infinitivs gebraucht Notker *wesan* und *werdan*, and zwar meist in derselben Bedeutung wie die heutige Sprache; *werdan*, um eine Handlung der Gegenwart oder Zukunft, *wesan*, um eine Handlung der Vergangenheit auszudrücken. Über Notkers Passivumschreibungen sagt Öberg S. 66:

*Werdan* (auch futural gebraucht) und *sin* (*wesan*) sind scharf geschieden, immer mit der Einschränkung, die durch die Verwendung von *sin* statt *werdan* neben den Partizipien der imperfektiven Verba bedingt wird.

Obwohl nicht streng genommen in den Rahmen dieser Arbeit gehörig, möchte es sich doch verlohnen, einige Worte über diese Einschränkung zu sagen, die Öberg im Laufe seiner Untersuchung feststellt. Manche Unklarheiten im Gebrauch von *sein* neben *werden* mögen dadurch beseitigt werden. Es ist Öbergs Verdienst, diesen Gebrauch auf die Aktionsart der Verben zurückgeführt zu haben. Er entnimmt dem Heliand eine Reihe von Belegen, wo *sein* mit einem Part. Prät. gebraucht ist, ohne daß diese Verbindungen Perfekta oder Plusquamperfekta bedeuten. S. 56 folgert er:

Solche Beispiele erklären sich auf eine ganz andere Weise (als aus dem imperativischen oder futurischen Charakter des Verbs): sie sind aus Verba

imperfektiva gebildet, und ihre Bildungsweise beruht auf der praesentischen Natur des Partizips dieser Verba. . . . Weil das Part. Praet. der imperfektiven Verba an sich nicht praeterital ist, so werden die Verbindungen von solchen passiven Partizipien mit *sein*, auch nachdem die Abgrenzung der Hilfsverba *sein* und *werden* für die Passivumschreibung fest geregelt worden, ihren früheren Doppelcharakter nicht aufgeben, d. h. die Verbindung kann entweder dieselbe temporale Bedeutung wie das einfache Hilfsverbum *ist*, *was* behalten oder den durch Analogie der Verba perfektiva erworbenen perfektischen Sinn haben. Indessen wird hierdurch keineswegs *wirdil*, *ward* aus der Klasse der Imperfektiva verdrängt; im Gegenteil: *werdan* wird das vorherrschende Hilfsverbum im Praes. und Imperf. dieser Verba, aber nicht das einzige wie in der Klasse der Perfektiva. Dies ist m. E. ein Kardinalpunkt bei der Beurteilung der deutschen Passivumschreibung seit der stattgefundenen Verteilung der Rollen von *sein* und *werden*.

Wilmanns III, 136 unterscheidet zwischen perfektischer und präsentischer Auffassung des Part. Prät., aber er kommt nicht auf den Kern der Sache, die den betreffenden Verben überhaupt begrifflich eigene perfektive bzw. imperfektive (durative) Aktionsart. Seine Beispiele wären präziser wie folgt zu erklären: *Die Stadt ist zerstört* bedeutet etwas ganz anderes als *die Stadt wird zerstört*, weil *zerstören* ein Perfektiv ist und sein Präs. Pass. daher nur mit *werden* bilden kann; *ist zerstört* könnte als Verbalform nur Perfekt sein. *Der Mann ist verachtet* bedeutet wesentlich dasselbe wie *der Mann wird verachtet*; denn *verachten* ist ein Imperfektiv und es liegt in der Natur seines Begriffes, daß sein Part. Prät. der Analogiewirkung der perfektivischen Verben nicht unterworfen ist, sondern seine präsentische Natur bewahrt, also das Präs. Pass. sowohl mit *sein* als mit *werden* bilden kann.

Mit Recht weist Wilmanns a. a. O. darauf hin, daß "für die mit *werden* zusammengesetzten Formen die Unterscheidung von perfektischem und präsentischem Part. wenig in Betracht kommt, da, wie man auch das Part. auffassen mag, die Bedeutung des Hilfszeitwortes es hindert, in der Verbindung den Ausdruck einer abgeschlossenen Handlung zu sehen." So erklärt sich die ausgiebige Verwendung von *werden* mit imperfektiven Verben neben seiner ausschließlichen mit perfektiven.—

Die Errungenschaften der althochdeutschen Periode in Bezug auf die Ausdrucksformen des Passivs lassen sich dahin zusammenfassen:

Die Sprache schafft sich eine besondere Bezeichnung für das Präsens in *wirdit* mit Part. Prät., die das alte, zugleich perfektische *ist* mit Part. Prät. verdrängt; letzteres beschränkt sich dann auf die Bezeichnung des Perfektums, ausgenommen in Verbindung mit Partizipien imperfektiver Verben.

*Ward* mit Part. Prät. wird die übliche Umschreibungsform für das Präteritum, während *was* mit Part. Prät., das analog dem *ist* im Präsens im Beginn der Periode diese Zeitform vertreten konnte, zum Ausdruck des Plusquamperfektums dient, ausschließlich bei perfektiven Verben, vorherrschend bei imperfektiven.

Nur für das Fut. Pass. hatte die Sprache eine eigene Bezeichnung noch nicht gewonnen. *Wirdit* mit Part. Prät., das im Beginn ausschliesslich diesem Zweck diente, ist am Ende der Periode sowohl Präs. als Fut. Pass.

Folgende Tabelle zeigt in übersichtlicher Darstellung den Gebrauch der passivumschreibenden Hilfsverben mit Part. Prät. am Anfang und am Ende der althochdeutschen Periode.

	Anfang	Ende
Präs.	<i>ist</i>	<i>wirdit</i> ( <i>ist</i> mit Imperfektiven)
Fut.	<i>wirdit</i>	<i>wirdit</i>
Prät.	<i>was</i>	<i>ward</i> ( <i>was</i> mit Imperfektiven)
Perf.	<i>ist</i>	<i>ist</i>
Plusq.	<i>was</i>	<i>was</i>

#### b. AKTIV

Die Umschreibung aktiver Tempusformen durch *werdan* mit mit Part. Prät. eines Intransitivs ist im Althochdeutschen nicht allzu häufig. Das Präsens *wirdit quoman*, für das Behagel im Altsächsischen futurische Bedeutung in Anspruch nimmt, scheint für das Althochdeutsche nirgends belegt zu sein. Wilmanns III, 143 sagt, daß auch der Inf. *quoman werden* nur einmal vorkomme, und zwar Is. 33,10; ein weiterer Beleg findet sich aber Is. 36,14. Auch in letzterem Falle muß dieser Inf. wohl trotz des abweichenden lateinischen Textes als von *sculan* abhängig aufgefaßt werden.



Die Form *ward* mit dem Part. Prät. eines Intransitivs ist etwas häufiger, stirbt aber auch bald aus. Den Grund, weshalb diese zusammengesetzten Formen nicht wie im Passiv zu einem dauernden Bestandteil des Konjugationssystems wurden, sehen Dieninghoff<sup>27</sup> und Wilmanns<sup>28</sup> darin, daß es für das Präs. und Prät. die einfachen Formen gab, welche die zusammengesetzten Formen überflüssig machten. Dieser Umstand hätte dann aber das Entstehen der letzteren von vornherein verhindern sollen. Ihr späteres Schwinden scheint vielmehr darin begründet zu sein, daß der Sprache das Gefühl für den Unterschied der Aktionsart, dem sie doch wohl allein ihre Entstehung verdankten, allmählich verloren ging. Die Entwicklung der Passivformen scheint gleichfalls darauf hinzuweisen.

Grimm<sup>29</sup> beansprucht für alle mit *ward* und Part. Prät. intransitiver Verben zusammengesetzten Formen passive Bedeutung, mit Ausnahme der Zusammensetzung mit *quoman*. Anderswo<sup>30</sup> setzt er freilich *ward irscritan* (= praeterierat) dem altsächsischen *ward cuman* gleich und übersieht dabei, daß *irscritan* = *erschreiten* analog dem neuhochdeutschen *ersteigen* transitiv ist. Erdmann<sup>31</sup> gibt den Beleg richtig als Prät. Pass. Ferner ist die Passivbedeutung der Verbindung *uuard (gi)uortan*, auf die Grimm IV, 156 Anm. hinweist, nicht ohne weiteres klar. S. 20 bemerkt Grimm, daß *factus sum* sowohl Prät. des aktiven *fo* als Prät. Pass. von *facio* ausdrückt; übersetzt aber *uuard uortan* das Prät. des aktiven *fo*, wie Tat. 12,2 und 212,1, so kann der Sinn nicht wohl passivisch sein. *Uuard (gi)uortan* ist im Tatian die einzige Verbindung von *werdan* mit dem Part. Prät. eines Intransitivs.

Auch für *werdan* mit Part. Präs. bietet das Althochdeutsche nicht viele Belege. Im Ind. Präs. erscheint es 3mal: *Inti nu wirdist thu suigenti: Et ecce eris tacens*, Tat. 2,9; *Thie min fur-*

<sup>27</sup> Die Umschreibungen aktiver Vergangenheit mit dem Participium Praeteriti im Althochdeutschen. S. 8.

<sup>28</sup> III, 143.

<sup>29</sup> IV, 157.

<sup>30</sup> IV, 8.

<sup>31</sup> Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otrfrids. I §374. Vgl. darüber auch Dieninghoff, S. 24 Anm.

*lounit fora mannum inti min scamenti wirdit: Qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus et confusus me fuerit, Tat. 44,21; So er in fluchontemo seginonte ganghêilen getuôt so uuirt er fone maledicente benedicens, N. II, 131, 15.*

Der Konj. Präs. ist zweimal belegt: *daz die die nu nieht nigisehent gisehente uuerden N. III, 312, 23; daz nâch wâre riwe unte in uobis*

*nâch wârem antlazze so gitâner werche. diu werch ann iu ûfstênte werden, N. III, 397, 21 (Wessobrunner Gl. u. B.).* In beiden Belegen fehlt zwar der Akzent, der Sinn weist aber auf den Konjunktiv. Für N. III, 312, 23 gibt auch der lateinische Text *ut qui non vident, videant*, N. II, 569, 2, den Aufschluß.

Für den Inf. Präs. findet sich folgende Belegstelle: *ein got ist echert natûrlichêr. knôoge mugen uuerden per gratiam. an imo teil habendo, N. I, 190, 22.*

Das Prät. von *werdan* mit Part. Präs. kommt etwas häufiger vor:

*uuntrentiu uurtin elliu diu folk: stupebant, Mons. 5, 17.*

*Uuart tho sin sueiz samaso tropfo bluotes rinnenti in erda: Et factus est sudor eius sicut gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram, Tat. 182, 3.* Hier hat offenbar der Übersetzer den lateinischen Text mißverstanden.

*Uuanda erblindetêr. nîo daranah neuuard keshentêr: neque enim caecus factus. rursus videt, N. I, 480, 14.<sup>32</sup>*

*Aber diu gefêhta unde diu zîero gegareta iuno. erblichendiu fone iro liehte. samaso fone gelegenemo spiegele. uuard sî in uuîzero heiteri: Iuno autem diuersicoloris. illustris ornatibus ac uaria. uelut speculo cognato. gemmarum. i. numinum luce resplendens. candentibus serenis enituit, N. I, 748, 23.* Hier wäre vielleicht attributive Auffassung des Partizips anzunehmen; Rick<sup>33</sup> weist darauf hin.

*der liût segin*

*Populus neuuolta benedictionem. do der in zuochad*

<sup>32</sup> In folgendem von Konrad Meyer (Zur Syntax des Participiums Praesentis im Althochdeutschen. Diss. Marburg, 1906, S. 18.) angeführten Beleg ist das Part. wohl besser attributiv und nicht als zu *uuurtun* gehörig aufzufassen: N. I, 722, 30 *Unde die fogela die sina reita fûortun uuurtun flugerôs. fndhêntiu fore dero heizi sines liehtes: fiuntque volucres anhelî flammis lucis alipedes.*

<sup>33</sup> Das prädikative Partizipium im Althochdeutschen. S. 26.

*der dâr gesehende uuart*

*qui erat illuminatus a domino*, N. II, 471,26.

*Riche uurten durftige.unde hungerente*, N. III, 100,1. Vgl.

*Divites eguerunt.et esurierunt*: *Riche uurden durftige unde hungerge*, N. II, 113,29.

*Tho ward mund siner sar sprechanter*, O. I, 9,29.

*joh sehenti avur wurti.ther blint was fon giburti*, O. III, 20,122.

*Blinde man gisehente joh krumbe gangente, ja wurtun tote man ouh les queke sines wortes*, O. IV, 26,17.

Ein von dem Part. *wortan* abhängiges Part. Präs. zeigt folgender Beleg: *uortaneer horsamoonti fatere: factus oboediens patri*, B. R., 53,5.

Daß die Verbindungen von *werdan* mit Part. Präs., vornehmlich im Präteritum, zunächst der Hervorhebung der (inchoativen) Aktionsart dienen, darauf weist Wunderlich I, 188 mit Recht hin.

Die drei Verbindungen von *werdan* im Ind. Präs. sind von geringem Wert. Die beiden Belege aus Tatian sind slavischer Nachahmung des lateinischen Textes verdächtig; bei Notker steht das deutsche Part. Präs. *gar* interlinear als Übersetzung eines lateinischen Partizips. In ihrer Bedeutung kommen diese Verbindungen allerdings dem neuhochdeutschen Futurum nahe. Es muß aber betont werden, daß außer bei Otfrid die Konstruktion *werdan* mit Part. Präs. in originalen Schriften nicht vorkommt.

Für *werden* mit Inf. findet sich in der althochdeutschen Periode kein einwandfreier Beleg. In den *Bruchstücken eines rheinfränkischen Psalters*, einer Interlinearversion der Cantica aus dem 9. oder 10. Jh., die Braune mit Zugrundelegung der Neuherausgabe von T. I. Steppat, Beitr. 27,504-541, in die siebente Auflage seines Lesebuches S. 41 aufgenommen hat, steht Esai. 38,18: [*Quia non*] *infernus confitebitur tibi neque mors laudabit te: in (in? ni? ne? unsicher) helle begien uuirdit dir noh dôt lobot dih*. Die gleiche Übersetzung wiederholt sich 19: *Vivens vivens ipse confitebitur tibi sicut et ego hodie: pater filiis notam faciet veritatem tuam: lebendiger lebendiger selbu begien uuirdit dir also unde ih hiude: vater kindon cunt duot uuârheit dtn*. Braune scheint *begien* als Inf. anzusehen;<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. Lesebuch 230 unter *bijehan*.

ebenso Gallée,<sup>35</sup> der des ersten Herausgebers Huet anscheinend falsche Lesung *begten uuirdit* als *bēgten uuirdit* wiedergibt. Diese Auffassung ist aber doch sehr anfechtbar, denn der Übersetzer der *Cantica* gibt sonst jedes der 19 Futura Akt. in den Bruchstücken (außer einem, wo er versehentlich das Prät. setzt, und zweien, wo der Nebenbegriff der Pflicht den Gebrauch von *sal, sol* veranlaßt) durch das Präsens wieder, sogar im selben Satzgefüge mit den beiden *uuirdit begien* (*laudabit:lobot; faciet:duot*), wo doch gleichmäßiger Sprachgebrauch zu erwarten wäre. Es ist daher sehr wahrscheinlich, daß der Übersetzer, der ja augenscheinlich auch das *servabit* I, b,9 (:beuareda) für ein Perfektum hielt, das in den Bruchstücken einzige Deponens *confiteor* auch dem Sinne nach als Passiv ansah und demgemäß ähnlich dem *roborabitur* I, b,9 (:gesterkit uuirdit) durch *uuerdan* mit Part. Prät. (*begien*, Part. Prät. = Inf.) wiedergab. Belehrend ist auch ein Vergleich mit der Übersetzung des nämlichen lateinischen Textes bei N. II, 612,29ff., wo für das lateinische Futurum durchweg das Präsens steht.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Tijdschrift voor nld. Taalkunde, V, 274ff.

<sup>36</sup> Ein von Kurrelmeyer S. 36 gegebener Beleg ist zu verwerfen. Er findet sich in der bairischen Version von Notkers Psalmen und zwar in der Glosse zu Psalm 108,9: *siniu chint uwaren die imo ze demo unrehte uolgoten in dero gotis martiri. sin chona der uuillo der ienti kefuoget ist samo chona charle unde danne geberen uuir die uerh*, W. N. 188, V. 9. In der Hs. fehlt aber nicht nur das *g* von *geberen* sondern vor allem das *t* von *uuir* (vgl. W. N. 188 Anm. und N. III, XXXIX, 7 und 8). Das Hinzufügen des *t* durch die Herausgeber ist bei dem Fehlen irgend welcher Belege für *werden* mit Inf. bei Notker durchaus unberechtigt.

Gleichzeitig weist Kurrelmeyer auf einen andern angeblichen Beleg hin, der sich sowohl in der alemannischen als auch in der Wiener Hs. findet: Ps. I, 6 *wande got weiz den weg dera rehtono, er gewerdet sie wizzzen und tro werch*. Daß die Form *gewerdet* nichts mit *werdan* zu tun hat, sondern zu *gewerden* gehört, welches lat. *dignari* übersetzt, darauf weist schon Aron (Die "Progressiven" Formen im Mittelhochdeutschen und Frühneuhochdeutschen, S. 28) hin.

Aber auch das von Aron S. 29 erwähnte Beispiel, Ps. XIX am Schluß, das auch Crenshaw (The Present Participle in Old High German and Middle High German, S. 59) gibt, ist nicht einwandfrei. Es lautet: *Domine, saluum fac regem.et exaudi nos in die qua inuocauerimus te. Truhten halt den chuninch. irslân fone lode*

*tuo christum resurgere a mortuis unde gehöre unsih.so uuirdo ih anahareen*. Der Text der Parallelstelle im Wiener Notker, wo *inuocauerimus* durch die 1. Pers. Pl. richtig wiedergegeben ist, behebt aber jeden Zweifel, daß es sich in der St. Galler Hs. nur um einen Schreibfehler handelt. In der Wiener Hs. lautet der Vers: *Trohtin, kehalt den chunig, tuo Christum irsten uone demo tode. unde gehore unsih.so wir dih ana haren*.

## C. ÜBERBLICK UND VORWORT ZU II.

Zusammenfassend mag über die Erscheinungsformen von *werden* in den älteren germanischen Dialekten Folgendes gesagt werden:

1. Als Vollverb wie als Kopula erscheint *werden* auf dem ganzen germanischen Gebiete. Es dient in diesen Funktionen oft dazu, das Fut. des Verb. subst. zu ersetzen. Eine Erweiterung seines Begriffs als Vollverb zur Bedeutung eines Verbs der Bewegung tritt überall ein, vornehmlich im Angelsächsischen.

2. Die Verwendung von *werden* mit dem Part. Prät. transitiver Verben zur Bildung des Passivs ist gleichfalls allen Dialekten gemein. Was das Präsens betrifft, ist sie im Gotischen durch noch vorhandene flektierte Formen, im Angelsächsischen durch die aus der Wurzel *bheu* stammenden Auxiliarformen eingeschränkt. Im Althochdeutschen läßt sich eine deutliche Entwicklung in der Bedeutung der präsentischen Formen von *werden* mit Part. Prät. verfolgen; anfangs vertreten sie ausschließlich das Fut., am Ende der Periode dienen sie zugleich als Präs. Pass.

3. Die Umschreibung aktiver Tempusformen durch *werden* mit dem Part. Prät. eines Intransitivs zeigen alle Dialekte mit Ausnahme des Gotischen. Dem Altnordischen sowie dem Angelsächsischen und Altsächsischen ist sie ganz geläufig, während sie im Althochdeutschen nur selten gebraucht wird und bald ausstirbt.

4. *Werden* mit dem Part. Präs. fehlt nur im Altnordischen. Das Altsächsische bietet aber nur 2 Belege, in denen das Part. überdies eher nominale als verbale Bedeutung hat. Die andern Dialekte weisen spärliche Beispiele auf. Im Althochdeutschen kommt das Präs. von *werden* mit Part. Präs. nur 5mal vor, 3mal in enger Anlehnung an lateinische Partizipien; andere Formen von *werden* mit Part. Präs. begegnen 11mal. In den meisten Fällen hat das Part. mehr oder weniger adjektivische, nicht rein verbale Bedeutung.

5. *Werden* mit Inf. kommt im Altnordischen vor; ob es aber, wie Falk und Torp annehmen, in präs. Form reine Futurumschreibung ist, steht noch nicht fest. Im Althochdeutschen ist

diese Umschreibung nicht einwandfrei belegt, da der einzige einschlägige Fall <sup>37</sup> eine andere Deutung zuläßt; den übrigen Dialekten ist sie gänzlich fremd.

Welche von den älteren Erscheinungsformen mag nun auf die Bildung von *werden* mit Inf. als hochdeutsche Futurumschreibung von Einfluß gewesen sein?

Daß *werden* als Vollverb und als Kopula in seiner Wiedergabe des lateinischen *erit* und des griechischen *ἔσται* die futurische Kraft aufrecht erhielt und insofern auf die spätere Futurumschreibung eingewirkt haben muß, ist wohl nicht zu bezweifeln. Zwar hat Grimm jedenfalls recht, wenn er IV, 182 meint, daß die Neigung des gotischen *wairþa* zur Wiedergabe des Fut. des Verb. subst. schwerlich noch in Anschlag komme bei der Entstehung des späteren *werden* mit Inf. Aber man braucht auch garnicht so weit zurückzugehen. Die gleiche Neigung besteht noch im Althochdeutschen bis in die Zeit der Entstehung der neuen Futurumschreibung, und hier kann ihr Einfluß auf die letztere nicht von der Hand gewiesen werden.

Die Verwendung des Präsens von *werden* mit dem Part. Prät. transitiver Verben zur Bezeichnung des Fut. Pass. im Althochdeutschen und Mittelhochdeutschen wird von Grimm <sup>38</sup> als möglicher Anlaß zur Bildung des aktiven Futurums mit *werden* und Inf. in Vorschlag gebracht: "die Sprache gerieth darauf, auch statt des part. praet. pass. den aktiven inf. mit *werden* zu construieren and *wird geben* für *dabit* zu setzen." Aber hier hat selbst Grimm einmal zum Zweck einer gezwungenen Erklärung *ad hoc* sein Sprachgefühl verleugnet. Denn wenn die Sprache ein dem Fut. Pass., *werden* mit Part. Prät., analog gebildetes aktives Futurum bilden wollte, wie hätte sie da den Infinitiv setzen sollen? Daß die dem Part. Prät. analoge aktive Form nicht der Inf. sondern das Part. Präs. ist, darauf weist schon Hinsdale <sup>39</sup> hin. Wenn also der Gebrauch von *werden* im Fut. Pass. irgend

<sup>37</sup> Bei ihrem engen Zusammenhang und der Gleichheit der übersetzten Worte sind die beiden p. 31 angeführten Stellen doch wohl nur als ein einziger Beleg zu betrachten.

<sup>38</sup> Gramm. IV, 182; ebenso Kurrelmeyer, S. 90.

<sup>39</sup> Über die Wiedergabe des lat. Fut. bei den ahd. Übersetzern des 8.-10. Jahrhunderts. S. 38.

etwas zu tun hatte mit der Bildung einer entsprechenden Aktivform, so mußte er zu der Umschreibung des Fut. Akt. durch *werden* mit dem Part. Präs. führen, die ja im Althochdeutschen tatsächlich vor der mit dem Inf. auftaucht.

*Werden* mit Part. Präs. tritt Althochdeutsch schon im 9. Jh. auf; in den präsentischen Formen hat die Verbindung futurische oder wenigstens inchoative Bedeutung. Aus ihr leitete schon Wackernagel bei der Herausgabe einiger Sprüche des Hans Folz, ZfdA. VIII, 515 die moderne Futurumschreibung ab; er bemerkt zu *wart fahen* und ähnlichen Bildungen: "der infinitivus hier wie in unserem umschriebenen futurum aus dem part. praes. entstellt: *wart vahende*. schon im h. Anno 613 so *diz liuth nahtis ward slafn*." Grimm IV, 182 äußert dazu nur das Bedenken: "dann müßte dies (sc. *werden* mit Part. Präs.) früher vorkommen"; aber er ist selbst überzeugt, "althochdeutsche Beispiele werden sich nachweisen lassen" (IV, 7), und gibt ebenda eine ganze Anzahl aus älterer mittelhochdeutscher Zeit, darunter das stark futurische *wirt diende* Nib. 1150,4, das er freilich mit *servit* übersetzt, und die unbestreitbare Futurumschreibung Tristan 101,27: *er wirt mich gerne sehende und wirde ich ime verjehende*.<sup>40</sup> Wackernagels Ansicht wird geteilt von Weinhold in seiner mittelhochdeutschen Grammatik (2.A. §373, vgl. §429):

Folgenreich war der Ausfall des *d*, so daß *ene*, apocopirt *en*, für *ende* entstand, was zur Vermischung des Partic. mit dem Infin. namentlich in den mit *sein* und *werden* umschriebenen Formen . . . . . führte. Die participiale attrib. und praedikat. Natur dieser scheinbar infinitiven Formen ist aber überall klar. . . . .

Ähnlich Lexer, Mhd. Handwörterbuch III, 776; Vernaleken, Deutsche Syntax I, 21; Behaghel, Litbl. III, 413 (der scheinbare Infinitiv eine analogisch verbildete Partizipialform); Sievers, Oxford Benedictinerregel XIX (*-ende, -enne, -ene, -en*); und andere mehr.

Daß der Gebrauch von *verða* mit dem Inf. im Altnordischen die Bildung der entsprechenden hochdeutschen Futurumschreibung veranlaßt oder beeinflußt habe, ist bei der Entlegenheit und Abgeschiedenheit des nordischen Sprachgebietes jedenfalls aus-

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. Bechsteins Anm. in seiner Ausgabe: "altes Beispiel vom Futurum mit dem Hilfswort *werden* (nebst part. präs.)."

geschlossen. Sollte man etwa versucht sein, die altnordische Konstruktion schon für das Urgermanische anzusetzen, so stände man der Tatsache gegenüber, daß dieselbe weder in dem nächstverwandten Gotischen noch in irgend einem anderen älteren germanischen Dialekte vorkommt und erst vom 12. Jh. an, und im Hochdeutschen allein, allmählich in die Erscheinung tritt. Es handelt sich also im Hochdeutschen auf jeden Fall um eine einzelsprachliche Neuentwicklung.

Die von der großen Mehrzahl der Forscher verfochtene Ableitung des Inf. nach *werden* aus dem Part. Präs. wird auch von denen nicht geradezu abgelehnt, die zu einer mehr oder weniger abweichenden Erklärungsart neigen. Erdmann, *Syntax* §142, erkennt an, daß ihre "Möglichkeit freilich nicht bestritten werden kann," hält aber in etwas dunkler Andeutung "Anlehnung des Infinitivs an alle Verba, welche die Fähigkeit oder Bereitschaft zu einer Handlung ausdrücken" für genügend, um die Verwendung eines "echten" (aber doch erst analogisch erreichten) Inf. zu erklären. Danach hätten also gewisse Verben geradezu adjektivische Bedeutung und Funktion; Belege aber gibt er nicht.—Wilmanns andererseits spricht sich in seiner *Grammatik* (III, 110) zunächst folgendermaßen aus: "Wo der Infinitiv neben intransitiven Verben für das Partizipium eintritt, ist er wohl überall auf die Verstümmelung des Part. zurückzuführen . . . die weiteste Verbreitung hat der Infinitiv neben *werden* gefunden, in dem umschreibenden Futurum." Späterhin aber (177) erklärt er sich für ein Kompromiß:

*werden* schloß sich Verben wie ahd. *biginnan*, *gistantan* u. a. an; denn wie diese neben dem Infinitiv, so diente *werden* neben dem Part. Präs. dazu, den Eintritt in die Handlung zu bezeichnen. Unter dem Einfluß der synonymen Verba trat an die Stelle des Partizipiums der Infinitiv. . . . Dann aber wurde die Verbreitung der Infinitivkonstruktion . . . kräftig unterstützt durch den lautlichen Verfall der Partizipialendung, durch den eine Vermischung von Partizipium und Infinitiv herbeigeführt wurde.

Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, daß analogische Wirkungen nicht erwiesen, wohl aber auf Grund besonderer Umstände wahrscheinlich gemacht werden können. Erdmann läßt es jedoch bei der bloßen Vermutung bewenden; Wilmanns verweist lediglich auf die Sinnverwandtschaft von *werden* und *biginnan*, *gistantan*.



Allen Erklärungsversuchen liegt die Erkenntnis zugrunde, daß *werden* mit Inf. keine ursprüngliche Konstruktion sein kann wie *werden* mit Part. Präs., sondern als lautliche oder analogische Sekundärbildung zu betrachten ist. Unter den älteren Konstruktionen von *werden* bietet aber die weiter oben gegebene Übersicht nur einen augenfälligen Anknüpfungspunkt für den Inf. nach *werden*: das Part. Präs. in gleicher Stellung. Beide Verbindungen sind im Althochdeutschen belegt, die mit dem Inf. aber nur einmal und nicht einwandfrei; die Entwicklung und Ausbreitung der letzteren fällt so gut wie ganz in die mittelhochdeutsche Zeit vom 12. zum 15. Jh.

Für diese Zeit liegt nun die einschlägige Untersuchung von Kurrelmeyer vor: *The Historical Development of the Forms of the Future Tense in Middle High German*. Aber gegen seine Methode und Ergebnisse lassen sich ernste Bedenken erheben. Seine Methode ist rein statistisch; sie arbeitet mit Gesamtzahlen und Prozentsätzen. Nun liegt natürlich in verschiedenen Perioden und verschiedenen Dialekten nicht annähernd gleich umfangreiches Material vor; aber Kurrelmeyer versucht keinen Ausgleich, auch wo das möglich wäre, weder im Quantum noch in Bezug auf individuellen Sprachgebrauch, dessen Durchschnitt sich nur aus einer größeren Anzahl von Einzelproben ermitteln läßt. Für das 11.-12. Jh. z. B. untersucht er 12 bairische Denkmäler, aber nur 4 alemannische; für das 13. Jh. 13 bairische, wo er 1653 Ausdrücke findet, gegen 9 alemannische mit nur 149 futurischen Ausdrücken. Dies Mißverhältnis mag ihn veranlaßt haben, Wackernagels Predigten 27-70 hier mit einzuschließen, obgleich sie aus dem 14. Jh. sind; und dies ist nicht die einzige chronologische Verschiebung. Am wenigsten befriedigt der Prozentsatz als Prüfstein bei der Untersuchung einzelner Werke; 16 Prozent *werden* mit Part. Präs. in einem kleinen Werke, wo es sich um 2 Beispiele von zwölf handelt, will weniger besagen als 9 Prozent von 224 Beispielen in einem größeren Werke.

Sodann gibt Kurrelmeyer viel zu wenig Belege an. Wenn er auf S. 43 von 764 Belegen aus Berthold nur 10 zitiert, auf S. 66 von 529 Beispielen aus Grieshabers Predigten nur 9, oder auf S.

68 von 514 Belegen aus den Historienbibeln nur 8, so ist das gänzlich ungenügend. In der Philologie, wenn irgendwo, gilt es die Stimmen wägen und nicht bloß zählen. Fehlen aber die Belege, so wird dem Leser die Möglichkeit entzogen, die Beispiele auf ihren Wert zu prüfen; und daß dies nicht nur belehrend, sondern auch als Vorsichtsmaßregel geboten ist, davon geben die weiter oben (Anm. 37) angeführten Beispiele aus Notker eine Probe.

Dazu kommt noch, daß Kurrelmeyers Angaben, wenigstens soweit sie *werden* betreffen, vielfach ungenau sind. Ein paar Beispiele mögen genügen. S. 42 gibt Kurrelmeyer den Prozentsatz der futurischen Ausdrücke in Berthold von Regensburg, Band I; *werden* mit Part. Präs. ist danach überhaupt nicht vertreten. Schon bei oberflächlicher Durchsicht des Werkes findet sich aber eine Reihe von Beispielen, so 121,18; 124,6; 388,14, 17; 390,17, 20; einen Beleg gibt Kurrelmeyer selbst S. 43. Ähnlich ist S. 26 im Spiegel der Leien *werden* nicht vermerkt, obgleich später 2 Belege angeführt werden. Auf S. 17, wo Kurrelmeyer Beheims Evangelienbuch mit der Evangelienharmonie vergleicht, behauptet er, der große Unterschied zwischen beiden bestehe darin, daß Beheim *werden* mit dem Inf. gebrauche, nicht mit dem Part. Präs., während die süddeutsche Version den gerade entgegengesetzten Gebrauch aufweise. Nach S. 16 gebrauchte Kurrelmeyer Bechsteins Ausgabe des Evangelienbuchs. Da hätte er aber schon in der Einleitung S. XXXV Verweise auf drei Beispiele von *werden* mit Part. Präs. finden können; ferner S. LI zwei weitere Verweise, und S. LII eine Zusammenstellung von Fällen, wo derselbe lateinische Text in verschiedenen Evangelien einmal durch *werden* mit Part. Präs. und dann wieder durch *werden* mit Inf. wiedergegeben ist.

Es scheint deshalb geboten, den Gebrauch von *werden* mit dem Part. Präs. und mit dem Inf. in den verschiedenen mittelhochdeutschen Dialekten nochmals zu untersuchen mit Rücksicht auf die Form, Bedeutung und relative Häufigkeit beider Konstruktionen sowie auf die Wechselwirkungen, die sich zwischen beiden feststellen lassen. Im Folgenden soll dies für das Alemannische (einschließlich des Schwäbischen) geschehen.

## II

WERDEN MIT DEM PART. PRÄS. UND MIT DEM INF.  
IM ALEMANNISCHEN

## A. 12. JAHRHUNDERT

Die Literatur des 12. Jh. auf alemannischem Boden ist nicht reichhaltig. Auch ist die Scheidung zwischen alemannischen und bairischen Denkmälern für diese Zeit noch recht schwer, da die beiden Mundarten sich erst allmählich deutlicher sonderten. Eine weitere Schwierigkeit der Untersuchung liegt darin, daß manche Denkmäler, die nachweisbar dieser frühen Zeit entstammen, doch erst in bedeutend späterer Niederschrift auf uns gelangt sind. Da ist dann mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, daß ein Schreiber, zu dessen Zeit das Part. Präs. schon die Endung *-de* verloren hatte, auch die Partizipialendung seiner Vorlage wegließ. Auch die Zeit der Entstehung dieser frühen Denkmäler ist nicht immer genau festzulegen.

## 1. POETISCHE WERKE

In den poetischen Werken findet sich das früheste mittelhochdeutsche Beispiel für *werden* mit Part. Präs. bei dem schwäbischen Minnesänger MEINLOH VON SEVELINGEN:

M. F. 13, 11. sturbe ich nâch ir minne  
und wurde ich danne lebende,  
sô wurbe ich aber umb daz wîp.

*Werden* steht im Konj. Prät.; das Part. bewahrt nominalen Charakter.

HEINRICH DES GLEIBNERS *Reinhart Fuchs*, ungefähr um 1180 entstanden, liegt in einer unvollständigen, zerschnittenen Handschrift aus dem 12. Jh. und einer vollständigen Bearbeitung aus dem 13. Jh. vor.

Zwei Belege für die Partizipialkonstruktion mit *werdan* im Prät. sind leider nur in der späteren Bearbeitung erhalten; die entsprechenden Stellen stehen in einer Lücke der älteren Handschrift:

101. Pinte schiere vlihende wart.  
133. blinzende er singende wart.

Die Umschreibung dient in beiden Fällen zur Hervorhebung der Aktionsart.

Die Werke HARTMANN'S VON AUE fallen in das letzte Jahrzehnt des 12. und das erste des 13. Jh. Von den Handschriften stammen wenige aus dem 13. Jh., die meisten aus dem 14. oder später.

Die Konstruktion *werden* mit Part. Präs. beschränkt sich auf das Prät.

- Erec.* 2625. dô der turnei stênde wart.

Die Behauptung Winklers,<sup>41</sup> daß diese Verbindung die Dauer ausdrücke—"so lange das Turnier dauerte, sah man ihn"—ist wohl kaum stichhaltig; vielmehr dient die Umschreibung zur Hervorhebung der Aktionsart, für die Hartmann im *Erec* sonst ganz besonders häufig, etwa 80mal, *beginnen* im Prät. mit Inf. gebraucht.

- Iwein.* 2986. daz ich ir nâh jehnde wart.  
3429. erne wurde dâ zestunt wol varende unde gesunt.  
5891. dô st st fragende wart.

2986 und 5891 drücken den Beginn einer Tätigkeit in der Vergangenheit, 3429 den bedingten Beginn eines Zustandes in der Zukunft aus; in letzterem Falle steht das Part. aber adjektivisch, wie das ihm koordinierte *gesund* zeigt.

Die andern Werke Hartmann's enthalten keine Belege für *werden* mit Part. Präs. Die Partizipialkonstruktion ist Hartmann überhaupt nicht geläufig. Auch die Umschreibung *sein* mit Part. Präs. ist selten; die Belege mögen hier kurz vermerkt werden: Gregorius 1190, 1663, 1803, 3995. Armer Heinrich 24, 672, 728. Iwein 4172, 4905, 5844, 5904, 7927, 7930. Lieder S. 10, S. 27.

<sup>41</sup> Johanna Winkler. Die periphrastische Verbindung der Verba *sin* und *werden* mit dem participium praesentis im Mittelhochdeutschen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts. Diss. Leipzig, 1913. S. 78.

Werden mit Inf. kennt Hartmann nicht.<sup>43</sup>

ULRICHS VON ZATZIKHOVEN *Lanzelet*, etwa aus dem Jahre 1195, enthält folgende Belege:

4514.                    idoch muoz er  
      beidiu wîp unde lant  
      sô tiure koufen, daz stn pfant  
      dar umbe hôhe stênde wirt.

Die Umschreibung entspricht hier ganz der modernen Futur-umschreibung *werden* mit Inf. ("es wird ihm teuer zu stehen kommen").

5240. stnen mâc wart er werende.

Die Verbindung hebt die Aktionsart hervor; sie kommt aber der Bedeutung des nicht umschriebenen Präteritums sehr nahe.

4856. stt ich zellende worden bin.

Werden im Perf. drückt die abgeschlossene Handlung aus.

3288. dô was der turnei als ein want stênde worden gein in.

Werden im Plusquamperf. kann naturgemäß nur eine in der Vergangenheit abgeschlossene Handlung ausdrücken.

Werden mit Inf. kommt bei Ulrich nicht vor.

## 2. PROSAWERKE

Die Prosawerke des Jahrhunderts zeigen ein etwas anderes Bild.

Das *Speculum ecclesiae* wird von Kelle, dem Herausgeber, einfach als altdeutsch bezeichnet. Weinhold benutzt aber dieses Denkmal neben andern als Grundlage für seine alemannische Grammatik; er führt die Belege allerdings in Parenthese an. Paul II, 184 nimmt Alemannien als Entstehungsgebiet für die Predigtsammlung an. Sie entstammt dem Beginn der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jh., mag sogar noch in der ersten Hälfte entstanden sein (vgl. Einl. S. XII).

<sup>43</sup> Der von Monsterberg-Münckenau (Der Inf. in den Epen Hartmanns von Aue, S. 36) gegebene Beleg ist falsch; er steht im Erec 9129 und lautet:

got herre, nû werde  
des kuncz Êrekes phlegen  
wan er bestêt einen degen  
der hât ellen unde kraft.

Das *werde* ist Präs. Konj. des schon oben erwähnten Verbs *werdên*, welches die Bedeutung *dignari* hat.

Es finden sich folgende Belege für *werden* mit Part. Präs.:

Prät. von *werden*:

- 9, 13. Danach wart er hinchinde.<sup>43</sup>  
 9, 15. do warter mit bosin werchin hinchente.  
 9, 19. ʒn div wart adam hinchente.  
 10, 3. da nach wurtin si alle hinchente.  
 10, 19. vnde der tōrn ōrn wurdin gehōrente.

Präs. von *werden*:

8, 21. so werdent die blinten gesunt. die tōrsin horinte, die halzn springente. die stvmmen sprechente.<sup>44</sup>

68, 32. Dirre tac ist crist gotis sun selbe. der wirt nimmer unlōhtinte. nimmer unschinendi.

183, 24. der sunnentac bezeichent die ewigen riwe. so wir ufrende<sup>45</sup> werden uon allen angesten.

Die Partizipien bewahren nominalen Charakter mit Ausnahme von 183,24; hier drückt die Verbindung das Werden eines Zustandes in der Zukunft aus und entspricht dem modernen *werden* mit Inf.

*Werden* mit Inf. kommt nicht vor.

Die ersten 13 Predigten und die Gebete 73-90 in Wackernagels Sammlung *Alteutsche Predigten und Gebete* sind alemannisch und entstammen dem 12. Jh. Die Predigten sind nach 1172 geschrieben. Nur in einer Predigt finden sich Beispiele für *werden* mit Part. Präs.:

VII, 45. Do er drie totin lebinde hiez werdin.

54. vnde wie er lebinde sol werdin.

62. Der tovgenliche svndot. unde tovgenliche zebihete chvmet dvrch gotes forhte. der wirt ovch tovgenliche lebinde.

In letzterem Beleg ist das Part. durchaus verbal; es kann nicht durch *lebendig* ersetzt werden.

Ein anderes Prosadenkmal aus diesem Jahrhundert, die *Bruchstücke einer althochdeutschen Übersetzung der 4 Evangelien*, gibt Marc. 10,33 *ecce accendimus* mit *seht wirt chomm* wieder. Hier ist *wirt* offenbar Schreibfehler für *wir*, wie schon Kurrelmeyer S. 53 erkannt hat.

<sup>43</sup> *hinc* ist hier überall im bildlichen Sinne gebraucht.

<sup>44</sup> Kelle nimmt für die ganze Sammlung nur einen Verfasser an. Aber es ist auffallend, daß die meisten dieser Belege (S. 8, 9, 10) in einer Predigt vorkommen; in dem 186 Seiten umfassenden Text finden sich außerdem nur die 2 Beispiele S. 68 und 183.

<sup>45</sup> *Feiern* in der Bedeutung von *ruhen*.

## 3. ÜBERSICHT.

Die alemannische Literatur des 12. Jh. bietet also folgendes Bild (vgl. Tabelle I):

*Werden* mit Part. Präs. ist in beschränktem Gebrauch sowohl in Gegenwarts- als auch in Vergangenheitsformen.

Im Präs. steht *werden* mit Part. Präs. 7mal, wovon 2 Belege auf den Inf. Präs. entfallen. In den 5 andern Fällen wird der Ind. Präs. gebraucht; das Part. Präs. hat 2mal adjektivische Bedeutung, 3mal aber verbale und bildet dann mit *werden* eine Umschreibung der Zukunft.

Im Prät. steht *werden* mit Part. Präs. 13mal, 2mal im Konj. Je ein Beleg findet sich für das Perf. und das Plusquamperf.

Alle bei *werden* stehenden Part. Präs. gehören imperfektiven Verben an.

*Werden* mit Inf. kommt noch nicht vor.

## B. 13. JAHRHUNDERT

## 1. POETISCHE WERKE

Auch in diesem Jahrhundert überwiegen die poetischen Denkmäler, da die Unterhaltungsliteratur dieser Zeit ihren Ausdruck ausschließlich in poetischer Form fand.

Das früheste der großen Epen dieser Periode ist, vom Iwein abgesehen, der *Tristan* GOTTFRIEDS VON STRAßBURG. Als Entstehungszeit ist etwa das Jahr 1210 anzusetzen.

Von den Umschreibungen mit *werden* ist nur *werden* mit Part. Präs. vertreten.

*Werden* im Prät. mit Part. Präs. dient im wesentlichen zur Hervorhebung der Aktionsart, wie die folgenden Belege zeigen:

4116. und also er in frâgende wart.  
 5510. daz si aber ir leiden geste  
       als schiere, als ez wart tagende,  
       mit gewalte wurden jagende.  
 7343. und also ez âbende wart. . .  
 8838. dô ez liehtende wart.  
 8942. und also der tac stîgende wart.

10132. *sît* ich in merkende wart.  
 14617. *dô'z* nahtende wart.  
 18837. dennoch vor naht *dô* wart der schal  
 in dem lande fliegende über al.  
 19244. diu maget, diu wart sich wider den man  
*sô* rehte lieplich machende,  
 smierende unde lachende,  
 kallende und kôsende,  
 smeichende unde lôsende,  
 biz daz *si'n* aber enzunde.

In präsentischer Form dient die Umschreibung 4mal zum Ausdruck der Zukunft:

3984. swie mich der kunec nu varnde siht,  
 er wirt mich gerne sehende,  
 und wirde ich ime verjehende  
 umbe *sînen* neven.  
 8706. man wirt uns schiere komende an  
 von den burgêren  
 mit ûbelichen mæren.  
 14129. und werdent mir dann alle  
 mit gemeinem schalle  
 gebende die schulde.

In zwei weiteren Fällen ist die Bedeutung der Umschreibung präsentisch, betont aber nur den Beginn einer dauernden Handlung, deren weiterer Verlauf in der Zukunft liegt.

11863. ez ist hiure und was ouch vert  
 under gelieben allen,  
 dazs' ein ander baz gevallen  
*sô* liebe an in wahsende wirt,  
 diu bluomen unde wuoher birt  
 lieplicher dinge,  
 dan an dem urspringe.  
 17863. diu huote fuoret unde birt,  
 dâ man si fuorende wirt  
 niwan den hagen unde den dorn.

Der *Tristan* weist also die Konstruktion *werden* mit Part. Präs. im ganzen 16mal auf.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Kurrelmeyers Behauptung, daß Gottfried eine besondere Vorliebe für Partizipialkonstruktionen habe, bestätigt sich also in Bezug auf *werden* nicht. Aber auch mit *sein* ist das Part. Präs., wie Winkler a. a. O. S. 19 feststellt, in den fast 20,000 Versen des *Tristan* nur 36mal verbunden. Dagegen verwendet Gottfried das Part. Präs. gern attributiv und appositiv.



Der Infinitiv findet sich bei Gottfried weder neben *werden* noch neben *sein*. Von einem Verlust der partizipialen Endung sind auch sonst keinerlei Anzeichen vorhanden. Gottfried hält die partizipiale Endung und die Endungen der obliquen Casus des Infinitivs streng auseinander; er erlaubt sich sogar recht wirkungsvolle Wortspiele mit diesen Formen:

18299. sone sol doch in dem herzen mîn  
niht lebenes noch niht lebendes sîn.  
18438. ze lebene und ze lîbe  
enwas niht lebendes sîn tût  
niwan sîn beste leben Isôt.

In der Fortsetzung des Werkes durch ULRICH VON TÜRHEIM, einen alemannischen Dichter (ca. 1236) kommt *werden* weder mit Part. Präs. noch mit Inf. vor; auch hier ist die partizipiale Endung noch intakt und wird von den flektierten Casus des Infinitivs konsequent unterschieden.

KONRAD FLECK dichtete *Flore und Blanscheflur* nach 1210 und vor 1230. Die beiden uns erhaltenen Handschriften, die Heidelberger und die Berliner, die im Elsaß geschrieben sind, entstammen erst dem 15. Jh. und sind deshalb nicht zuverlässig. Sommer, der Herausgeber, sagt XXXVII: "Beide Handschriften haben noch nicht den Wert einer halb guten, da sie derselben schon ziemlich verderbten Quelle entnommen sind."

Sommers Text enthält keinerlei Beispiele von *werden* mit Part. Präs. (aber s. die Lesarten unten und Anm. 48). Auch neben *sein* ist das Part. Präs. nirgends gebraucht.

Dagegen bietet der Text für *werden* mit Inf. folgende Belege:

3140. wan der kumber der iuch swæret,  
der ist mir an dirre stunt  
von iwern gebærdē worden kunt,  
die ich an iu hân gesehen.  
ich wæne ir werdent mir es jehen,  
swaz. . . . .  
3608. er ist min friunt der beste;  
der wirt iuch wol enthalten.  
von sinnen manievalten  
er ist wîten mære.  
4656. sô wirt er sprechen zehant.

Gemäß Sommers Anmerkung S. 154 hat in letzterem Beispiel die Heidelberger Handschrift (H) *sprechende* für *sprechen*; vgl. S. 308 zu Vers 3144, wo Sommer erklärt, daß 4656 in beiden Handschriften der Inf. stehe. Golther<sup>47</sup> hat gleichfalls *sprechen*.

Hinzuweisen ist ferner auf 4724. Bei Sommer lautet der Text: *er wirt iu deste getriuwer ze fürdernd iuwer êre*. Golther hat statt *ze fürdernde* nur *fürdernde*, was zweifellos sinngemäß ist. Sommers Anmerkung S. 156 erklärt, daß die Berliner Handschrift *fürdernde an uwer êren*, die Heidelberger *fürende an uwer êren* hat. In beiden Handschriften steht mithin das Part. Präs. bei *werden*.<sup>48</sup>

Der Wert der beiden Infinitive *jehen* 3144 und *enthalten* 3609 wird möglicherweise dadurch beeinträchtigt, daß beide Male die Formen im Reime stehen.

Immerhin ist bemerkenswert, daß Partizipialkonstruktionen bei Fleck so gut wie garnicht vorkommen. Leider haben wir bisher keinerlei Anhalt über die nähere Heimat des Dichters; Sommer vermutet Schwaben oder die Schweiz. Sonst möchten sich vielleicht beachtenswerte Vergleiche zwischen der Sprache Gottfrieds und Flecks in Bezug auf örtliche Spracheigentümlichkeiten ergeben.

Während Gottfried im *Tristan* die Endungen des Part. Präs. und des Inf. streng auseinanderhält, herrscht bei Fleck völlige Verwirrung zwischen den beiden Formen. Der Dat. des Inf. hat viel häufiger die Endung *-ende* als die regelmäßige Endung *-enne*. Mit partizipialer Endung findet er sich 45mal, mit der regelmäßigen Flexion nur 9mal (2143; 3474; 3806; 4950; 5344; 5588; 6009; 7689; 7690). Das epenthetische *d* wird vornehmlich nach *zu*, aber auch nach andern Präpositionen gebraucht, z. B. *an* 447. Auch der völlig substantivisch gebrauchte Inf. zeigt die Endung des Partizips, so 6556, 7097.

Von den zahlreichen Werken des Schweizers RUDOLF VON EMS sind dieser Untersuchung das früheste auf uns gekommene Gedicht

<sup>47</sup> Flore und Blanscheflur. Deutsche Nationalliteratur, Bd. 4.

<sup>48</sup> Weshalb S. nicht dem Text einer der Hss. gefolgt ist, entzieht sich der Beurteilung. Sein Hinweis S. 319, daß die Worte *ze fürdern(d) iuwer êre* sich 4870 und 5275 auch finden, beweist nichts, da sie dort in anderer syntaktischer Verbindung stehen.

*Der gute Gerhard* und sein letztes Werk die *Weltchronik* zu Grunde gelegt.

*Der gute Gerhard* ist wahrscheinlich nach 1229 geschrieben, obwohl einige Forscher das Werk früher setzen wollen; die *Weltchronik* aber zwischen 1250 and 1254. Jedenfalls liegt ein Zeitraum von etwa 20 Jahren zwischen der Entstehung der beiden Werke.

Als der Dichter den *guten Gerhard* verfaßte, scheinen ihm die Umschreibungen mit *werden* noch ganz ungeläufig gewesen zu sein; das etwa 7000 Verse umfassende Werk enthält kein einziges *werden* mit Part. Präs. oder Inf. Auch steht das Part. Präs. nur zweimal neben *sein*: 2698, 6554. Partizipialkonstruktionen sind äußerst selten. Die Endungen des Part. Präs. und des Inf. sind regelmäßig.

Die *Weltchronik*, ein Werk von etwas mehr als 36000 Versen, liegt in Ehrismanns neuer Ausgabe vom Jahre 1915 vor. Zugrunde gelegt ist die Wernigeroder Hs. Z, die als die beste gilt; sie ist etwa um 1300 in der Schweiz, vermutlich nicht weit von Rudolfs Heimat geschrieben.

Hier sind Umschreibungen mit *werden* schon nicht mehr ungewöhnlich.

Im Prät. steht *werden* mit Part. Präs. zweimal:

15702. und uf allir sinir vart  
 nie bogerügge noh neigende wart.  
 26429.                   herschaft unde lant  
 wart alliz diende sinir hant.

Im Plusquamperf. steht *werden* mit Part. Präs.:

4515. so si mit warheit rehte empfant  
 das si was traginde worden da.

*Werden* in präs. Form mit Part. Präs. steht an den folgenden 11 Stellen:

2086. darinne werdent swinde  
 traginde von dem winde  
 dú berndú ros.  
 3871. als ih iuh harnah sol sagin  
 und saginde wirde.

(Bezeichnend ist die Nebeneinanderstellung von *sol* mit Inf. und *werde* mit Part. Präs.)

4645. ez wirt gebernde  
dir din wip Sara  
einin sun.
8306. Got wirt nouh gebinde in das lant  
das sin geheiz iu hat benant.
9529. ir sult Egipten lant  
werden beroubende.
9566. distu zeichin werdent sie,  
dú du hast gesehen hie,  
gloubende wol an der geschiht.
12323. da wirstu nach sehinde mich  
ze rugge.
15176. bas danne dekein andir lant  
das diende werden solt ir hant.

Hier hat Ehrismann nicht den Text der Hs. Z, sondern den der beiden andern von ihm benutzten Hss. Pp zugrunde gelegt (vgl. S. 208). Z hat *Dc dienen sollte ir werden hant*.

31340. wan drufe wirt harnah din kint  
ein tempil machinde Gote.
34012. mit siner helfe schilte  
wirt er uns bedeckende.

Hs. P (erste Hälfte des 14. Jh.) und Hs. p (1367) haben *decken*.

35969. dar zû alles Moabes lant  
das wirt stende in uwer hant.

Mit Ausnahme von 2087 und 15177, wo die Partizipien nominal sind, dient die Verbindung zur Umschreibung der Zukunft.

Partizipialkonstruktionen sind in der Weltchronik überhaupt ziemlich häufig; bei *sein* steht das Part. Präs.: 215; 866; 968; 1001; 1652; 2324; 2701; 2971; 4596; 4644; 5051; 6851; 8684; 9384; 9402; 9457; 9531; 9596; 12633; 13139; 15779; 18780; 19195; 21604; 24572; 26662; 31490; 31530.

Die Umschreibung *werden* mit Inf. steht nur einmal:

35047. das wirt an dir rechen  
ein lewe und dich zerbrechen.

Die Konstruktion entspricht ganz dem modernen Futurum. Es ist aber vielleicht nicht belanglos, daß die Verse 35047-48 in

dem Abschnitt stehen, der auf den oft recht nachlässigen Schreiber Z<sup>4</sup> entfällt.<sup>49</sup> Andererseits ist Vermischung der Endungen des Part. Präs. und des flektierten Inf. in der Weltchronik nicht ungewöhnlich; obwohl der Inf. in den meisten Fällen, etwa 85mal, die regelmäßigen Endungen zeigt, tritt er doch auch schon mit partizipialer Endung auf: 1032, 4407, 4684, 8022, 8250, 13759, 16976, 17199, 20733, 27581, 27705, 32669, 33730, 35139. Abfall der Flexion beim Inf. ist selten und kommt nur nach *zu* vor.

Zur Bezeichnung der inchoativen Aktionsart wird vornehmlich *beginnen* mit dem Inf. gebraucht. Die Verbindung findet sich im Prät. etwa 180mal, im Präs. nur 3mal.

FRIDANKES *Bescheidenheit* (um 1230) bietet bei der Natur des Stoffes und der Knappheit des Sprichwortstils so gut wie keine Gelegenheit zu Umschreibungen mit *sein* oder *werden*.

Einmal steht das Part. Präs. bei *werden*:

136,17. Diu lewen tót ir kint gebirt,  
von des vaters galme ez lebende wirt.

Aber das Part. ist nominal und die Verbindung ist nicht futurisch.

Die Umschreibung mit *sein* steht gleichfalls nur einmal und zwar an Stelle des einfachen Präs.

119,18. Swaz úf der erden lebend ist,  
daz muoz fürthen mannes list.

Erwähnt sei noch 26,4-5:

Swie vil der ketzer lebene sl,  
ir keiner stât dem andern bl.

*lebene* ist aber hier nicht etwa, wie es scheinen möchte, Part. Präs. mit Synkope des *d*, sondern st. n. *das leben* = Lebensweise; vgl. dazu S. 307 zu 26,4-13.

Die obliquen Casus des Inf. zeigen die regelmäßigen Endungen, z. B. 78,20; 76,11; 111,1, sofern sie nicht, wie öfter der Fall, unflektiert gebraucht sind, wie 62, 9,13; 157,18. Der Gen. endet verschiedentlich auf bloßes *-s*: 53,3 *liegens*; 78,18 *lernens*; 172, 9 *liegens:triegens*.

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Ehrismann, S. XXV.

*Mariengröße*, ZfdA. VIII, 274 ff., ein kleineres poetisches Denkmal aus der Mitte des Jahrhunderts, enthält ein *werden* mit Inf.:

S. 295, V. 699:

Hilf uns durch die suezen tropfen  
die Krist lie das wirt noch klopfen  
an das herze mit den triuwen  
daz uns unser sunde riuwen.<sup>80</sup>

KONRADS VON WÜRZBURG *Turnei von Nantheiz*, wohl seine früheste Arbeit, etwa um 1260 gedichtet, enthält nichts Bemerkenswertes. Das Gedicht ist nur etwa 1150 Verse lang und nur in einer Handschrift vom Anfang des 14. Jh. erhalten. Umschreibungen mit *werden* oder *sein* kommen nicht vor.

*Partonopier und Meliur*, 1277 vollendet, liegt vollständig nur in einer recht schlechten Handschrift vom Jahre 1471 vor.

*Werden* steht sowohl im Prät. als auch im Präs. mit dem Part. Präs.

Im Prät.:

6474. *stn lop durchliuhtliclichen schln  
wart uberal dô gebende  
und aber höher swebende  
in küniclicher wirdikeit.*
10873. *dô wart in êrste erkennende  
diu sêuze und in dâ nennende  
mit namen sunder lougen.*
13260. *Gaudin Partonopiere  
wart holdez herze tragende  
und im ein wunder sagende  
von hoewelichen mâren sider.*
16535. *vrou Meliûr kam gltzende  
des wart sich maneger fltzende  
daz er si da gesehe.*

Im Präs.:

3122. *ez wirt iu gar, daz weiz ich wol  
noch dienende âne widersatz.*
7324. *vil anellche sêre  
wirt si dar nâch ringende  
daz du mich werdest bringende.*
16424. *so wirt man uns erkennende.*

<sup>80</sup> Hier möchte Kurrelmeyer S. 54 *klopfen* möglicherweise als ursprüngliches Subst. auffassen.

In allen 4 Fällen ist die Verbindung Futur-umschreibung.  
*Werden* mit *Inf.* steht:

12190. wirt si dir zuo gesindet,  
 só wirstu mir gelouben,  
 wan si dich danne rouben  
 wirt herzen und muotes.
12328. só wirt beiffben an dem mer  
 und bi dem wazzer uf dem plân  
 von Persfâ der soldân.
13612. só wirt zehant ir einer  
 mit iu justieren uf dem plân.

Auch diese Verbindung entspricht der heutigen Futur-umschreibung.

Vermischung der Formen des *Inf.* und des *Part. Präs.* ist nicht nachzuweisen; die Endungen beider Formen sind regelmäßig. Nur selten ist der *Inf.* nach Präpositionen unflektiert.

Konrads *Trojanischer Krieg* ist in zahlreichen Bruchstücken und Handschriften erhalten; aber außer Bruchstück C entstammt keine dieser Niederschriften dem 13. Jh.<sup>51</sup> Die Manuscripte A, B, D, E sind im 14. Jh. entstanden; für a läßt sich das Jahr 1471, für e 1430, für g 1426 festsetzen; f mag noch dem 14. Jh. entstammen; c und d fallen in das 15. Jh. Nur für die Entstehungszeit von b gibt Bartsch, der auf Veranlassung Kellers zu dessen Text den Vergleich der Handschriften unternommen und die Lesarten zusammengestellt hat, keinen Anhalt. Durch Vergleich der Handschriften ergeben sich interessante Aufschlüsse über die Entwicklung des Gebrauchs von *werden* mit dem *Part. Präs.* und mit dem Infinitiv.

Kellers Text, mit Zugrundelegung von A hergestellt, enthält folgende Umschreibungen mit *werden*:

*Werden* im *Prät. Ind.* mit *Part. Präs.*:

5308. dô si trüeb unde vröudelôs  
 wart Pârlsen tragende  
 in sînem herzen clagende  
 was die beswärde Prîamus.  
 (Hs. d hat *tragen:clagen.*)
11401. und wart dar uf gedenkende.

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. Bartschs Anmerkungen zu Konrads Trojanerkrieg, Einleitung.

11890. der *ersten rotte pflegende wart*  
Nestor.  
(*pflegent Ae, pflegen ab.*)
13381. *sus wart er troye biuwende*  
*sô wol, daz er getriuwende*  
*was ir kreften iemer.*  
(*buwen: getruwen a, getruwent e.*)
13704. *dâ von wart si geruochende.*
15824. *si wart mit reines herzen gir*  
*wol harpfend.*  
(*harpfen Aa, harpfende c.*)
18505. *und er mit in dâ redende wart.*  
(*reden cd.*)
22404. *dô wart der ritter lobesam*  
*dar ûf gedenkend alle stunt.*  
(*Hier haben, wie Bartsch S. 222 angibt, alle Hss. gedenken. Jedoch*  
*sind diese Verse im ältesten Bruchstück C nicht erhalten.*)
25504. *die burger und die Kriechen*  
*die wurden balde vehtende*  
*dar under wart sich vlehtende*  
*mit kreften aber slt ein her.*  
(*fechten: flechten b.*)
30670. *der zwelften rotte phlegende wart*  
*der künic Palomides.*  
(*warten d.*)
37024. *von bluote wart ein rôter wâc*  
*uf der plânne swebende*  
*die geste wurden gebende*  
*des mâles jâmerlichen zol.*

*Werden im Prät. Konj. mit Part. Präs.:*

5064. *din heil daz würde entwerhes*  
*hie loufend ûf der erden*  
*swie Pâris solte werden*  
*erslagen von dir offenbâr.*  
(*louffent A, louffen ad.*)
8228. *vier starke ritter harnaschvar*  
*fünd er dô vor im stênde,*  
*die mit im wûrden gênde*  
*ze kampfê und z'eime strîte;*
11401. *und wart dar ûf gedenkende*  
*daz er si würde krenkende.*  
(*gedenckene: krenckene c, gedenken: krenken ae.*)
13703. *sô würde man in suochende;*  
*dâ von wart si geruochende.*  
(*sûchen: gerûchen abd.*)



22238. bekæme in iuwer hûs ein gast  
ir wûrdent denkend alzehant.  
(werdent A, denken A, denken ae.)

*Werden im Präs. mit Part. Präs.:*

34. ze pulver sich der brennet  
dar ûz er lebende wider wirt.
4572. wan si noch hînaht swanger wirt  
und einen sun wirt tragende,  
der hohen prîs bejagende  
muoz werden in dem lande.
11084. sô wirt er an den stunden  
schôn unde balde lebende wider.
13533. er wirt uns komende balde  
ze hûse von dem walde.  
(*komen* ae.)
18589. daz er ze jungest wânîc birt  
und er kein obez tragende wirt.  
(*tragen* a.)
18962. so wirt daz lop uns vallend an.  
(*vallende* c, *vollende* d, *vallen* ab.)
23282. hie wirt ir edelez tiurez bluot  
erbermecltche fliezende  
und allenthalt begiezende.
24240. doch wirt uns manicvaltic nôd  
dâ vor niun jâr geschehende.
26318. wan ez wirt sprechend allez lant.  
(*sprechent* A, *sprechen* abcd.)
29132. sô werden stolze megede  
dâ kriegend umbe dich iesâ.  
(*kriegen* Acde.)
29276. dû wirst ûz mir ein hovespel  
in dîner vrôuden machende.  
(*machen* bde.)
42280. swelh frouwe an dem selben zil  
bî ir man dô tragende wirt.  
(*tragen* de.)

Mit Ausnahme von 35, (4573), 11085 und 42281, wo das Part. noch adjektivisch steht, ist die Verbindung Futurumschreibung analog dem modernen *werden* mit Inf.; 4573 zeigt schon deutliche Neigung zur futurischen Funktion.

*Werden im Präs. mit Inf.* tritt in Kellers Text nur zweimal auf:

12442. ir werdent schouwen âne trûge.  
(*sehen* b, *schowende* cd.)
18214. ez wirt iuch kosten iuwer leben.

**Einmal steht werden im Prät. mit Inf.:**

4191. und wart uf springen niht ze laz.  
(*sprunge beef, sprungē d, sprurge A.*)

Wie unzuverlässig spätere Handschriften sind in Bezug auf Formen, bei denen sich der Verlust einer Endung allmählich vollzog, könnte nicht deutlicher klargelegt werden. In der Übergangszeit wird der eine Schreiber die absterbende, der andere die sich bildende Form gebraucht haben. Für das 13. Jh. sind demnach aus Texten, deren Handschriften späterer Zeit entstammen, sichere Schlüsse überhaupt nicht zu ziehen. Nur da, wo Handschrift und Text etwa in die gleiche Zeit fallen und der Schreiber zuverlässig ist, können wir eine genaue Darstellung der derzeit herrschenden Sprachformen erwarten.

Die Endungen der obliquen Casus des Inf. sind bei Konrad von Würzburg fast immer regelmäßig; selten steht *ende* statt *enne*, so 41613, 44672. Der unflektierte Inf. wird gleichfalls selten gebraucht.

In das letzte Jahrzehnt des 13. Jh. fällt das umfangreiche Epos *Martina*, das der Schwabe HUGO VON LANGENSTEIN im Jahre 1293 nach einer lateinischen Quelle dichtete. Es ist nur in einer Handschrift erhalten, die keine Urschrift, sondern nur eine ungenaue Kopie aus dem 14. Jh. ist.

Die Umschreibungen mit *werden* sind nicht allzu häufig.

**Werden im Prät. mit Part. Präs.:**

- 83,34. Do wart der keisir tobende  
.....  
Von vngedult rasende  
Sin sele mazende.

**Werden im Präs. mit Part. Präs.:**

- 31,99. ir werdent alle fliehende  
mine helfe schiuhende.  
116,7. Waz er hernach werde  
tvonde uf der erde.  
195,101. Danne werdent ane fristen  
Beide ivden unde cristen  
Die rehten warheit sehinde  
Und gemeinlichen iehinde  
An ihesum den gotis degen.

- 220,57. Diz wirstu ansehinde  
Vnd offentlich veriehinde.  
265,81. Daz wir diz alles sehinde  
Werden vnde spehinde  
Die gotlichen figure.

Alle diese Umschreibungen entsprechen dem modernen Futurum.

*Werden* mit Inf. kommt nicht vor. In der Stelle 203,25:

so wirt vor gottes ougen  
offenlichen sten niht tougen

ist statt *wirt* zweifellos *wir* zu lesen.

Neben den regelmäßigen flektierten Formen des Inf. finden sich solche mit partizipialer Endung, z. B. *ze schaffent*, 123,36; *ze tuonde*, 220,22.

Ohne Flektion steht der Inf. nach Präpositionen verhältnismäßig häufig, z. B. 41,75; 68,74; 117,2; 238,23; 287,74; 288,45.

Bemerkenswert sind folgende Formen: 115,78 *ane gediende schulde*; 214,91 *nach gediendem lone*; 226,93 *der gediende haz*. Hier zeigt sich die Neigung, auch die Endung des Part. Prät. der des Part. Präs. gleichzumachen.

## 2. PROSAWERKE

Die Prosaschriften dieses Jahrhunderts sind fast ausschließlich religiösen Inhalts. Die uns überlieferten deutschen Werke DAVIDS VON AUGSBURG hat Pfeiffer veröffentlicht. Der Anhang zu Band I der "Deutschen Mystiker des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts" enthält 7 Stücke und einige Gebete und Betrachtungen; das VII. Stück aber ist, wie Pfeiffer Einl. XXXIX nachträglich nachweist, nicht von David. Auch einige Gebete und Betrachtungen mögen nicht von David herrühren. Es sind folglich nur die Stücke I-VI dieser Untersuchung zugrunde gelegt. Eine weitere deutsche Schrift Davids veröffentlichte Pfeiffer *ZfdA.* IX, 8-55.

David war zwischen 1230 und 1240 Novizenmeister im Kloster zu Regensburg; er starb 1271 oder 1272. Einige seiner Schriften fallen daher zweifellos schon in die erste Hälfte des 13. Jh.

Sie bieten für *werden* folgende Belege.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs.:

310,40. Swer die wol gelernet mit der üebunge der werke, der wirt die andern selbe dar inne verstēde.

311,36. Der träge wolte durch den vrost nicht ern; dā von wirt er ze sumer betelnde.

311,38. durch den vrost des urdrutzes wolt der träge nicht nāch tugenden werben . . . ; dā von wirt er betelnde sō der heilige sumer kumt.

318,37. Unde dar nāch, waz er scheltworte lidet . . . unde noch liden wirt von den verdampften ketzern.

Zu beachten ist hier die Gegenüberstellung von Präs. und Fut.

326,6. Sō ein iegeltch mensch ie ofter disen spiegel für sich setzet unde ie vltzeclcher sich selben dar nāch rihtet unde reinet, sō er den gotlichen spiegel ie klārltcher in dem himele ansehende wirt und ie vollecltcher von stnem brechendem glaste erliuhtet.

346,16. Alsō wirt diu sēle reiner in ungemache . . . unde wirt liehter gltze mit der lūterkeit.

346,21. Nū sihstū, daz uns disiu kleine und kurze arbeit sō grōze ēre gebende wirt.

347,15. Swaz mir doch ein anderr wirt nemende āne mīnen danc, daz mac ich verre gerner mīnen guoten vriunden geben.

348,17. Disiu vier tier . . . , die werdent vor dem schoenen anlūtze sitzende der gotlichen magenkraft.

Nur in einem dieser Fälle, 346,16, ist das Part. Präs. noch vorwiegend adjektivisch; in den übrigen Beispielen steht *werden* mit Part. Präs. zum Ausdruck der Zukunft, analog dem modernen *werden* mit Inf. In Bezug auf 326,6, wo *wirt* dem modernen Sprachgefühl zuwider sowohl zu dem Part. Präs. *ansehende* als auch zum Part. Prät. *erliuhtet* gehört, ist zu bedenken, daß sich das Gefühl der Unzulässigkeit einer solchen Verbindung erst mit der Ausbildung und endgültigen Festlegung der neuen Futurumschreibung entwickeln konnte und daß andererseits die alte futurische Kraft von *werden* mit Part. Prät. noch nicht ganz erloschen war.

Zu beachten ist, daß David niemals *werden* im Prät. mit dem Part. Präs. gebraucht.

*Werden* mit Inf. kommt nicht vor.

Es erübrigt noch, darauf hinzuweisen, daß bei David die obliquen Casus des Inf. häufig nicht die regelmäßige Endung *enne*, sondern die Endung des Part. Präs. *ende* zeigen; so Mystiker

348,26; 349,35; 351,33; 354,21; 355,4; 356,22; 358,26; 360,15, 21; ZfdA. 8,4; 11,12; 15,37; 18,8 und 10; 23,5; 27,5; 36,27, 31 und 34; 46,14; 50,5. Die regelmäßige Endung findet sich z. B. Mystiker 350,10; ZfdA. 9,27; 15,25; 17,8; 37,13; 43,20; 53,21.

Von außerordentlichem Wert für die Erkenntnis der Entstehung des futurischen *werden* mit Inf. sind die von Grieshaber in *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jahrhunderts* herausgegebenen Predigten eines unbekanntes Klerikers. Sie überliefern nicht wie die poetischen Denkmäler die Sprache der höfischen Stände, sondern die des gemeinen Mannes, "die der Prediger der größern Popularität wegen in seinen mündlichen Vorträgen angewendet und auch bei der schriftlichen Aufzeichnung beibehalten hat," Grieshaber II, XII. Der unbekanntes Verfasser hat etwa um die Mitte des 13. Jh. im badischen Oberland gelebt. Die Handschrift ist teils von ihm selbst, teils unter seiner Aufsicht geschrieben, wie aus den von erster Hand getroffenen Änderungen und Verbesserungen hervorzugehen scheint; wir sind daher zu der Annahme berechtigt, daß dieses Denkmal ein klares und verlässliches Bild der Sprachformen jener Zeit und Gegend gibt.

Der Prediger gebraucht *werden* in präsentischer Form mit dem Part. Präs. nicht weniger als 127mal, und zwar mit nur 3 Ausnahmen durchweg zur Bezeichnung der Zukunft.<sup>52</sup>

Bd. I. 3,33. Jerusalem din sune werdent komende von verren landen, uñ dine tóhtera werdent sténde úz der stén.

7,11. diu werdent min stimme hörend.

13,1. ier werdent mich ain clain zít niht sehende uñ dar nach so werdent ier mich ain clain zít aber sehende. (Dasselbe, nur mit *wil st. zít*, 13,21.)

13,30. swenne ir dc nu werdent sehende. dc mich die iuden werdent vahende. uñ mich ze der marter werdent fürende. uñ mich an dem cruce werdent tóteude. so werdent ier vil sére wainende. aber diu welte uñ mine vigende die werdent sich frówende.

<sup>52</sup> Wilmanns Behauptung (Gram. III, 173), daß erst *werden* mit Inf. bestimmte futurische Bedeutung gewonnen habe, wird durch den Sprachgebrauch von Grieshabers Prediger schlagend widerlegt.

Wegen der großen Menge der Belege werden nur die ersten in jedem der zwei Bände zitiert, für die übrigen aber nur die Stellen angegeben. Auch im Folgenden werden die Zitate auf das Mindestmaß beschränkt.

- 14,18. wan so wirt sich iuwer herze fröwende.  
 17,33. ûz dinem herzen . . . . . werdent fliezende dc wazzer uñ die  
 zeher der riuwe.

Bd. II, 4,9. so werdent die blümen wahsende.

- 14,31. dc der mensch sich selber werde erchenne(n)de.  
 23,34. uñ die werdent rōwende mit herren abraham.  
 40,4. uñ swenne si denne die ubelen uñ die sunder werdent umbe-  
 tribe uñ dc si die werdent umbeziehende uñ dc si sie werdent  
 durchhāhtende an libe uñ an gūte.dc si sich reht denne  
 werdent ūbende an allen gūten werchen.  
 48,32. uñ swie spēte du im wierst dienende.  
 49,3. ich sage dier. dc fūr war.dc du hiute mit mier wierst sinde in  
 dem paradise.  
 54,30. swer wainende sēget.der wiert vrolichen snidende.

Weitere Belege: I, 18, 11, 37; 19, 8, 21; 20, 1, 6, 10, 12, 29;  
 21, 13, 14, 15, 27, 29; 26, 18, 19; 29, 23, 34; 31, 5; 33, 21; 34, 18 (2mal);  
 40, 24, 26ff, 29, 33; 48, 12, 17, 18; 51, 14; 52, 17; 54, 22; 55, 2, 4; 59, 9;  
 63, 33; 65, 33; 85, 8; 90, 15; 92, 19; 106, 19, 25 (2mal); 124, 37 (2mal);  
 128, 37; 129, 16, 18, 20; 136, 32, 33, 35; 144, 10; 148, 28; 149, 10, 11;  
 150, 7, 8, 10, 11; 151, 3, 14; 153, 7; 154, 24; 163, 11, 28; 165, 32.  
 II, 54, 36; 55, 37; 58, 28ff; 59, 17ff; 60, 3, 16ff; 63, 7; 68, 14; 75, 5; 81, 19;  
 91, 36, 38; 92, 1; 96, 25; 97, 20, 34; 99, 19; 133, 4, 26, 31; 138, 22; 140,  
 18, 37; 149, 27.

Die oben erwähnten 3 Ausnahmen von der futurischen Ver-  
 wendung sind I, 163, 28 und II, 60, 3, wo das Part. Präs. (beide  
 Male *gesehende*) adjektivisch steht, und II, 32, 29: *so varent die  
 burger von Joppen zū.uñ werdent ringende mit den iudon.uñ er-  
 trenchent ier zwai hundert ūf dem mēr*. Dieser Passus steht in  
 einer längeren Schilderung, die einen frühen Gebrauch des historisch-  
 en Präsens aufweist; *werden* mit Part. Präs. dient hier lediglich  
 zur Hervorhebung der Aktionsart, was sonst nur bei *werden* im  
 Prät. der Fall ist.

*Werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Part. Präs. findet sich ziemlich  
 häufig, und zwar durchweg in der eben erwähnten Verwendung.  
 Gegen die Futurumschreibung vermittelt des Präs. von *werden*  
 tritt die Präteritalkonstruktion jedoch so entschieden zurück, daß  
 ein Einfluß der letzteren auf die erstere kaum mehr in Betracht  
 kommt. Sie findet sich an den folgenden Stellen: I, 5, 33; 13, 26;  
 18, 4; 21, 20; 52, 24; 57, 22, 23; 83, 9; 91, 13, 16 (2mal), 32; 109, 11, 23,

26; 122,2; 124,27; 125,14; 145,23; 147,19,21; 163,30. II, 35,28,29; 47,9; 50,23; 52,13; 60,12; 82,18,24; 99,8; 123,27; 124,3; 129,32; 130,33; 133,32; 144,18. Im Prät. Konj. steht *werden* mit Part. Präs.: I, 115,30.

*Werden* im Perf. mit Part. Präs. findet sich 2mal: I, 33,36, und II, 4,28.

Der außerordentlich großen Zahl von Fällen, in denen *werden* mit Part. Präs. zum Ausdruck des Futurums dient, stehen nur zwei Beispiele von *werden* mit Inf. gegenüber, in denen überdies die Infinitivform möglicherweise für das Part. steht:

I, 108,8. *uñ als er helia dem wissagen brôt sant bi dem rappen in der wüste.als wir(t) er dich och berâten dines brôtes.* Das in der Hs. fehlende *t* ist vom Herausgeber hinzugefügt (vgl. XXVII) und muß wohl als richtig angesehen werden. Die Infinitivform *beraten* mag aber durch Zeile 7 *mach och er dich beraten* beeinflusst sein.

I, 149,27. *nu wirt man sehen komende dez menschen kint in den wolken.* Hier steht der Form nach der Inf. Vergleicht man aber I, 40,24 *werdent sehent stênde*, so gibt sich das Bestreben kund, die Wiederholung der schwerfälligen Endung *-ende* bei zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Part. Präs. zu vermeiden. Im letztern Falle bedingt dies nur den Wegfall des *-e*; 149,27 ist vielleicht die Endung *-de* abgeworfen.

Hinzuweisen wäre noch auf I, 130,28 *wan da wirt dc ewige wainon uñ dc ewige zene clafes (sin)* und II, 23,37 *uñ:da wirt dc ewige wainon uñ dc ewige zenklaffen alâer dc ewige zannon (sin)*. In beiden Fällen ist das *sin* vom Herausgeber hinzugefügt. Dazu ist zu bemerken, erstens, daß überhaupt kein Anlaß zur einer Ergänzung vorliegt, da *werden* beide Male als Vollverb gebraucht ist (vgl. auch I, 34,19: *uñ dc fiur dc ist och der nature dc ez allewart ist in ainer wegunge . . . sich also tût och reht dc fiur dc ist die minne dez hailigen gaistez.diu machet och dc du allewart wirst in ainer wegunge*); und zweitens, daß nach dem oben erwiesenen Sprachgebrauch des Predigers gegebenen Falls nicht der Inf. zu ergänzen wäre, sondern das Part. *sinde*, das ja tatsächlich auch zweimal nach *werden* belegt ist (II, 133,26 und 149,27).

Beachtenswert ist, daß das Part. Präs. im Gegensatz zu seiner ausgedehnten Verwendung nach *werden* nur in wenigen Fällen mit *sein* in Verbindung tritt, so I, 35,29; 84,33,36,38; 155,23; II, 1,9.

Die flektierten Casus des Inf. zeigen immer das partizipiale *d*; die Endungen *-ennes*, *-enne* finden sich nicht. Der unflektierte Dat. des Inf. ist selten, z. B. II, 133,14 *mit arbaiten*; desgleichen der zusammengezogene Gen. auf *-s* statt *-nes*, z. B. II, 49,12 *lebens*. Nach der Pröp. *zu* kommt der Dativ auf *-ende* so häufig vor, daß eine Aufzeichnung von Belegstellen überflüssig erscheint. Auch nach den andern Präpositionen tritt er in der Regel auf, z. B. I, 70,16 *mit betende*; 70,21 *an essende*; 93,5 *mit liegend*; der Gen. steht II, 29,8 *durch bettendez willen*. Das epenthetische *d* findet sich auch, wo der Inf. vollgültiges Subst. geworden ist und durch adjektivische Attribute näher bestimmt wird: I, 76,10 *in ierem gûten lebende*; 82,19 *mit dinem wainende*; II, 89,32 *die krôn dez ewigen lebendez*; 109,3 *mit ainem gûten lebende*. I, 109,32ff. stehen kurz nach einander drei Formen für den Dativ: *an dem naturlichen leben*. *an dem liblichen lebende*. *an dem ewigen lebend*.

Die Entstehungszeit des *Schwabenspiegels* liegt um etwa 20 Jahre später als die der Grieshaber'schen Predigten; sie läßt sich mit ziemlicher Sicherheit zwischen 1265 and 1280 setzen. Der schwäbische Ursprung dieses Denkmals ist zwar neuerdings angefochten worden; Paul II, 285 möchte es nach Ostfranken verweisen.

Die Umschreibungen mit *werden* sind im *Schwabenspiegel* selten. Es finden sich nur folgende Belege im Präs. mit Part. Präs.:

§172,124. *habē rehte māze, habe rehte wāge: so wirt dir got mit der rehten wāge wegende, unde wirt dir got gebende die rehten māze, unde wirt dir got gebende lanc leben.*

Nach Wackernagels Anm. hat die spätere Basler Papierhandschrift (15. Jh.) statt *wegende, gebende, gebende: wegen, geben, geben*.

§172,138. *sine vthende werden alle vor im nider fallende.*

§198,11. *die wtle ez in stner gewalt ist, so ist ez stn. alz ez fliegende wirt, swer ez danne gevâhet, des ist ez.*

Mit Ausnahme der letzten Stelle, wo nur das Eintreten der Handlung bezeichnet wird (die Hs. Bb. hat gemäß Wackernagels



Anm. S. 190 als *ez vliegen beginnelt*), ist die Umschreibung rein futurisch.

Im Prät. steht *werden* nie mit dem Part. Präs.; ebenso fehlen Belege für *werden* mit Inf.

Die hier auffallende Seltenheit der Futurumschreibung mit *werden* im Vergleich mit dem Sprachgebrauch von Grieshabers Prediger läßt sich leicht erklären. Erstens liegt es in der Natur der Sache, daß die Gesetzessprache überhaupt kaum je Verwendung hat für ein abstraktes Futurum, wie es die Umschreibung mit *werden* ausdrückt. Sie hat es zu tun mit Geschehnissen und Umständen in der Vergangenheit oder Gegenwart und mit Strafen oder zu erfüllenden Verpflichtungen in der Zukunft; in letzterem Falle ergibt sich deshalb sinngemäß der Gebrauch von *sollen*, falls nicht schon der imperativische Konjunktiv genügt. Zweitens aber hält die Rechtssprache zäh an dem altüberlieferten Wortlaut der Gesetze fest, trägt infolge dessen archaischen Charakter und verhält sich ablehnend gegen sprachliche Neuerungen. Daher ist auch die Futurumschreibung mit *werden* nur an Stellen zu finden, die von der Überlieferung unabhängig sind und freie zeitgemäße Ausdrucksweise gestatten.

Es erübrigt noch, darauf hinzuweisen, daß sich im Schwabenspiegel Anzeichen der Abschleifung des Part. Präs. nicht finden.<sup>53</sup> Aber ebenso wie bei Grieshabers Prediger, wengleich in viel geringerem Maße, ist die partizipiale Endung in die obliquen Casus des Inf. eingedrungen; die Endung *-ende* statt *-enne* findet sich jedoch nur nach *zu*. Nach den andern Präpositionen, wie meistens auch nach *zu*, stehen entweder die regelmäßigen Endungen oder der Inf. ist unflektiert; letzteres ist im Schwabenspiegel viel häufiger als bei Grieshaber. Wo der Inf. völlig zum Subst. geworden ist, zeigt er in den obliquen Casus nie das *d* der partizipialen Endung.

Die *St. Georger Predigten*, eine anonyme Sammlung, stammen, wie Wackernagel (*Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete* S. 387) annimmt, noch aus dem 13. Jh., obwohl Bestimmtes über ihre

<sup>53</sup> Dieser Umstand kann als Beweis gegen die Annahme dienen, daß das Denkmal auf fränkischem Boden entstanden sei.

Entstehungszeit und ihre Heimat nicht zu ermitteln ist. Sie scheint am Oberrhein zu Hause zu sein. Wackernagel betont die Reinheit der Schreibung. Im Anhang druckt er drei Predigten aus dieser Handschrift ab.

Präsentisches *werden* mit Part. Präs. steht: V, 31, 154, 157, 202, 215, 221; VI, 171, 180, 183.

Alle Belege zeigen futurischen Gebrauch der Umschreibung.

Im Prät. Ind. steht *werden* mit Part. Präs. V, 236.

*Werden* mit Inf. ist nicht belegt.

Einmal findet sich der flektierte Inf. mit partizipialer Endung: *an . . . . lebinde*, V, 106.

Eine *Passion des Matthäus*, die in einer Handschrift des Klosters Schaffhausen aus dem 13. Jh. erhalten ist, veröffentlicht Mone in "Schauspiele des Mittelalters," I, 61ff.

Nur präsentisches *werden* mit Part. Präs. kommt vor, und zwar durchaus als Futurumschreibung: 62,25,28,29; 63,9; 65,12; 66,9; 67,15.

Die folgenden kleinen Prosadenkmäler des 13. Jh. enthalten wenig Beachtenswertes.

Eine *Predigt auf Johannis den Täufer*, die alemannische Sprachzüge zeigt, von Jeitteles Germ. 35,171 veröffentlicht.

Die Umschreibungen beschränken sich auf ein Beispiel im Prät. Ind. mit nominalem Part. Präs. 176,14 und eins im Perf. mit Part. Präs. 177,10.

*Predigtbruchstücke*, mit Kennzeichen alemannischen Dialekts, herausgegeben von Schönbach ZfdA. XIX, 181ff.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs. steht 1mal:

198,10 *von den tougen grossen genaden, die sie sehente werdent.*

In dem das Bruchstück beginnenden Satz 183,1 . . . . *dem manen vnd wirt nichel sterbe von der helunge des meres und an dem wazzer ist sterbe* Substantiv. Daß eine solche Form allmählich als Inf. empfunden werden könnte, wie Kurrelmeyer S. 54 meint, ist nicht wohl anzunehmen.

Zwei *Predigten des Lesemeisters Hugo von Constanx*, ZfdPh. IX, 29-43, enthalten nur *wart* mit dem Part. Präs. 39,37 (2mal).

## 3. ÜBERSICHT

Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung über die Umschreibungen mit *werden* auf alemannischem Gebiet im 13. Jh. lassen sich folgendermaßen zusammenfassen (vgl. Tabelle II):

Die Umschreibung *werden* mit Part. Präs. ist der Sprache durchaus geläufig. Sie findet sich mit Partizipien imperfektiver sowohl als perfektiver Verben. Sie ist häufiger im Präs. als im Prät.; das Verhältnis ist etwa 5:2. In präsentischer Form dient sie fast ausschließlich als Futurumschreibung und findet als solche häufiger Anwendung in der Prosa als in der Poesie.

*Werden* mit Inf. kommt nur vereinzelt vor, und fast nur in späteren oder ungenauen Handschriften. In präsentischer Form als Futurumschreibung steht es 13mal, wogegen *werden* mit Part. Präs. fast 200mal als Ausdruck der Zukunft dient; das Verhältnis ist mithin etwa 1:15.

Selbst wenn man die wenigen Fälle von *werden* mit Inf. sämtlich als einwandfrei gelten läßt, so ist doch aus ihrer Seltenheit im Vergleich zu der außerordentlichen Überzahl von *werden* mit Part. Präs. zu schließen, daß der Inf. nach *werden* erst aus dem Part. Präs. entstanden ist. Dabei ist der Bemerkung Grimms IV, 181 Rechnung getragen, daß, wenn der Inf. aus dem Part. Präs. entstanden sei, dieses früher dagewesen sein müsse; auf alemannischem Gebiet war *werden* mit Part. Präs. in der Sprache lebendig, ehe *werden* mit Inf. Boden gewann.

Bisher nahm man, soweit die Infinitivform nach *werden* nicht als reiner Inf. aufgefaßt wurde, Entstehung dieser Form aus dem Part. Präs. durch Abschleifung der Endung *-de* an. Außer den wenigen Formen bei *werden* und noch vereinzelteren bei *sein* sind aber Anzeichen einer solchen Abschleifung auf alemannischem Boden im 13. Jh. nicht vorhanden. Es zeigt sich im Gegenteil das Bestreben, das *-d*, das beim abgeschliffenen Part. zuerst schwindet, auch da zu erhalten, wo das *-e* der Endung verloren ging, z. B. Grieshaber I, 21,28; 92,19; 106,20.

Dagegen macht sich eine Vermischung der Formen des flektierten Inf. und des Part. Präs. in diesem Jahrhundert stark bemerkbar. Sie besteht vorzüglich in dem Eindringen der Endung *-de(s)* in die obliquen Casus des Inf., die so das gleiche Aussehen bekamen wie das Part. Präs. Dies berechtigt zu der Frage, ob nicht vielleicht auf dem Umwege über diese Formen der Inf. für das Part. nach *werden* eingetreten sei. Da die obliquen Casus des Inf. auch ohne Flektion, also in diesem Falle ohne die Endung *-de* gebraucht wurden, so kann analogisch das Part. Präs. gleichfalls dieses *-de* verloren haben. Die Endung *-ende(s)* des flektierten Inf. mag sich ursprünglich rein lautlich aus *-enne(s)* entwickelt haben; sobald sie aber häufiger auftrat, mußte eine Unsicherheit in der Unterscheidung zwischen Inf. und Part. um sich greifen, die rückwirkend auch zum Gebrauch des Inf. statt des Part. nach *werden* führen konnte.

Das Alemannische des 13. Jh. bietet zwar keine Belege für Part. Präs. mit der Endung *-nn*. Aber die Tatsache, daß sich solche Formen anderswo finden (vgl. Bech., *ZfdW.* I, 85,27; 86,28; 87,34; 90,15; 91,24), deutet eher auf Vermischung mit dem Inf. als auf Abschleifung. Eine Zusammenstellung der bei beiden Formen im Mittelhochdeutschen überhaupt vorkommenden Endungen zeigt, wie gründlich sich diese Vermischung vollzogen hatte. Der flektierte Inf. hat die Endungen *-enne(s)*, *-en(s)*, *-ene(s)*, *-ende(s)*, *-end(t)*; das Part. Präs. endigt in *-ende*, *-end(t)*, *-ene*, *-enn*.

Das Auftreten der Endung *-de* im Dat. des Inf. datiert nicht erst aus dem 13. Jh., sondern hat seinen Anfang schon im Althochdeutschen<sup>54</sup> und ist vielleicht auch z. T. der Anlehnung an das lateinische Gerundium zuzuschreiben. Der Beginn des Vorganges fällt also nicht, wie Bech annimmt, "jedenfalls zusammen mit der Zeit, wo die Verkürzung der Partizipia in den Volksdialekten überhand zu nehmen anfing." Im Gegenteil, im 13. Jh. tritt die Endung *-de* im flektierten Inf. sehr häufig auf, während von einer Verkürzung der Partizipien auf alemannischem Gebiet, abgesehen von den wenigen Fällen der Infinitivform nach *werden* und *sein*, Spuren nicht vorhanden sind. Das Alemannische zeigt im 13.

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.* §315, Anm. 5.

Jh. überhaupt keine Neigung zum Fallenlassen eines auslautenden Dentals; das erweist das strenge Festhalten an dem *-t* der 3. Pers. Pl. Ind. (vgl. Weinhold, Alem. Gram. S. 339). Vielmehr entwickelt sich gerade damals das unorganische *-d* von *jemand*, *niemand*.

Das Eindringen der partizipialen Endung in den Inf. ist vornehmlich in Grieshabers Prediger nachzuweisen, einem Werk, das, wie der Herausgeber betont, gerade die Sprache des Volksmundes wiedergibt, und mithin zu denen gehört, die nach Bechs Ansicht den *sermo vulgaris* überliefern. Die Tatsache, daß die Endung *-ende* beim Volksprediger Grieshabers wie auch bei David von Augsburg viel häufiger gebraucht ist als in den poetischen Denkmälern, läßt entgegen Bechs Meinung darauf schließen, daß die Form im Volksmunde und nicht bei den Gebildeten entstanden ist. Damit wird auch Bechs Erklärung des Vorganges hinfällig.

## C. 14. JAHRHUNDERT

### 1. POETISCHE WERKE

Die poetischen Erzeugnisse des 14. Jahrhunderts sind minder zahlreich als die des vorhergehenden.

WALTHERS VON RHEINAU *Marienleben* entstammt kaum noch dem 13. Jh. (vgl. Paul II, 223). Das Gedicht liegt in zwei Handschriften vor, der Stuttgarter, 1388 vollendet, und der am Schluß des vierten Buches unvollständigen Karlsruher, die etwas älter ist, nicht später als 1369. Keller hat die vier Bücher des Gedichtes in vier Universitätsprogrammen 1849-1855 veröffentlicht. Die Behandlung des Textes ist aber in den vier Büchern verschieden. Buch I, II und IV teilt Keller nach der Stuttgarter Handschrift mit; am Schluß von II and IV gibt er abweichende Lesarten und Textverbesserungen nach der Karlsruher Handschrift; zu I fehlen diese. Im dritten Buche hat er den Text nach der Stuttgarter und Karlsruher Handschrift herzustellen gesucht. In der Einleitung zu Buch I bemerkt Keller S. 4, daß die Stuttgarter Handschrift gegen die Mitte mehr und mehr nachlässig werde.

Für *werden* mit Part. Präs. enthalten die vier Bücher folgende Belege:

**Werden im Präs.:**

- I Bl. 9,36. Si wirt von gotte enphähende  
Ein kint.
- 9,38. Das wirt näch stner geluste  
Sügende von der megde bruste.
- 10,19. Und sag ir, daz ir sêlig ltp  
Wirt geberend die maget.
- 13,8. Ein niuwes leben und ein ê . . . . .  
Anvahenden wirt daz fröwelln.  
(Hier scheint dem Part. Präs. noch die Endung des Part.  
Prät. angehängt zu sein.)
- 13,11. Dâvides rêch dez vatter sîn, . . . . .  
Wirt es bringende wider.
- 13,20. Und wirt mit im êwenklche  
Rîchsende in himelrîche.
- 13,58. Von dir wirt die hûsfrouwe dtn  
Enphähende ein juncfröwelln.
- 14,41. Und darzuo menschlichen val  
Wirdet si bützende über al  
Und wirt belbende maget.
- 14,46. Und wirt beschetwende st  
Des heiligen geistes craft.
- 46,35. Und wirst ouch leistenne âne spot  
Moyes ê und sîn gebot.  
(*leistenne* steht zweifellos für *leistende*.)
- II, 51,9. Da der vers geschriben stat:  
Audiam quid loquatur in me dominus deus meus  
Daz ist: Ich würde daz gebot  
Hörende, daz zu mir min got  
Wirt sprechende.  
Daß *würde hörende* nicht Konditionalis sondern Futurum  
ist, geht schon aus dem lat. Text hervor. So verbessert auch  
Keller nach der Karlsruher Hs. *wirde*.)
- 52,9. Und wirt beschetwende dich  
Des obresten kraft sicherlich.
- 56,32. Und wirt in ouch gebernde
- 66,49. Und wirt lidende für war
- 83,2. Dis kint daz ist got sicherlich  
Und wirt rîchsende ewenklîch.  
Von im wirt, waz sol daz me,  
Der ufstende ein niuwe e.
- 121,33. Mit dem tode, den ich  
Lidende wirt unschuldeclich.
- 124,16. Und wirde erstande dar nach  
Von dem tode.

- 124,57. Ich wirde mir erwellende  
Und ouch zuo mir gesellende  
Zwelf man.
- III, 128,52. Daz solt dû wizzen, daz der ist,  
Der toufende wirt zaller frist.
- 140,53. Daz vil wirt gloubende sicherlîch  
An mich, die nie gesâhen mich.
- 140,56. Daz der vil, die mich hânt gesehen  
Werdent wenkende an mir.
- 146,29. Sô wirt gloubende an in  
Daz volk.
- 148,47. Der wirt zeigende iuch al dar  
Ein wît gemacht.
- 151,11. Dem ich gibe daz getunkte brôt  
Der mich wirt gebinde an den tôt.
- 151,49. Sô werdent von vorhten ir  
Alle fliehende von mir.
- 151,54. Ir werdent am gelouben  
Zwîvelnde an dem tôde mîn.
- 151,57. Ich kum ze Galilêa  
Und werdent sehende ir mich dá.
- 152,15. Sô wirt mîn dîn munt  
Verlougende drîstunt.
- 158,51. Doch sult ir gelouben mir,  
Daz gesehende werdent ir  
Und alle liute, die dir sint,  
An gots zeswe des menschen kint.
- 167,16. Sî werdent komende ze hant  
Her mit gewalt in unser lant.
- 173,28. Ez werdent komende diu zît.
- 173,52. Unt wirde erstênde am dritten tage.
- IV, 228,26. So werdent ir in an lougen  
Gesehende von ovgen ze ovgen.
- 254,7. Die werdent sunder wende  
Komende ze dinem ende  
Und werdent alle gelich  
Erende an dinem tode dich.
- 274,28. Und wirt din eigen kint dich  
Enphahende.

*Werden* mit Part. Präs. ist in obigen Stellen durchaus Futur-umschreibung.

Im Prät. Ind. steht *werden* mit Part. Präs. II, 73,29; im Prät. Konj. III, 152 (Überschrift); 170,14; 183,30; 198,55, 59; 203,28, 29.

In folgenden Belegen dient *werden* mit Inf. als Ausdruck der Zukunft:

- 1 Bl. 12,47. Du wirst enphâhen ein kindeln.  
(Vgl. I, 9,36; 13,59; IV, 274,28, wo in gleichem Sinne *enphâhende* steht.)
- 14,37. Und unsers vatters rîche  
Davides sicherlîche,  
Daz lang ist gelegen nider  
Wirt si bringen wider.  
(Vgl. I, 13,13: *wirt bringende wider*.)
- 48,59. Frôwe dich, daz wîp unde man  
Dîne gnâd werdent rûeffen an.
- II, 78,17. Morgen an dem nechsten tage  
Wirst du kômen in daz lant.  
(Hier hat die Karlsruher Hs. *komende*.)
- 104,13. Ein torhafter knab du bist  
Dich wirt verleiten din list.  
(Hs. K. hat *verleitende*.)
- 121,38. Der wirt der judeschen diet  
Raten uf den minen tot.
- 123,46. Und wirde erstan sicherlich  
Von dem tode.  
(Hs. K. hat *erstênde*. Vgl. auch II, 124,16: *und wirde erstande darnach von dem tode*.)
- 124,8. Ein michel gehiuz  
Werdent si machen uf mich.  
(Hs. K. hat *machende*.)
- 124,41. Nach miner urstende, geloube mir,  
Wirde ich kômen zuo dir.  
(Hs. K. hat *komende*.)
- III, 140,55. Ouch wirt und sol daz geschehen.  
(Bech führt Zeitzer Prgr. ein ähnliches Beispiel an, und betont S. 12, daß in Fällen, wo *wirt* neben *sol* steht, die Infinitivform nicht mehr als Part. empfunden sei. In obigem Falle, wo *sol* an zweiter Stelle steht, ist darüber wohl kein Zweifel.)
- 150,40. Mich wirt hin  
Einr iuwer geben an den tût.  
(Vgl. III, 151,12: *wirt gebinde*. Der lat. Text hat beide *Male traditurus est*.)
- IV, 274,28. Und wirt din eigen kint dich  
Enphahende und trôsten gütlich.  
(Das Part. Präs. *enphahende* läßt wohl keinen Zweifel, daß *trôsten* hier noch als Part. empfunden wurde.)

*Werden* im Prät. mit Inf. kommt nicht vor.



Neben den 39 Belegen für das Part. Präs. nach *werden* finden sich also 12 für den Inf. Aber von diesen 12 sind von vornherein die 5 Fälle abzurechnen, in denen die ältere Hs. K das Part. aufweist, denn da ist der Inf. in S. wahrscheinlich auf das Konto des Schreibers zu setzen; und von den übrigen 7 Belegen für den Inf. fallen 2 (III, 140,55 und IV, 274,28) aus ersichtlichen Gründen kaum ins Gewicht, während für 3 weitere dieselbe Handschrift Parallelstellen bietet, wo in gleichem Zusammenhang das gleiche Verb im Part. Präs. steht.

In den flektierten Kasus des Inf. zeigt sich Unsicherheit: IV, 231,53 *ze redenne und ze lerende*. Die regelmäßigen Endungen wiegen aber beträchtlich vor; die folgenden Fälle beruhen wohl nur auf Nachlässigkeit des Schreibers: II, 57 Überschrift: *Wie Marien lebenne waz nach dem, do si den behalter enphanen hat*. IV, 218,23 *Und getorsten sich dar in Nicht erbaldenne sin*.

Die zahlreichen Handschriften von ULRICH BONERS *Edelstein*, der etwa im zweiten Viertel des 14. Jh. entstand, stammen fast alle aus dem 15. Jh. (vgl. Pfeiffer 186ff.).

In Pfeiffers Text findet sich nur je ein Beispiel für die vier aktivischen Umschreibungen mit *werden*; *werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs. LXI, 38; *werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Part. Präs. LXXIX, 37; *werden* im Präs. mit Inf. XLVI, 26: *ich vörcht du werdest ligen* (Varianten: *muost ligen, müessist ligen, geligest*) *tot*; *werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Inf. XLVIII, 37. Die letztere Zeile fehlt in mehreren Handschriften.

An den beiden Stellen, wo in Pfeiffers Text nach *werden* das Part. Präs. steht, haben einzelne Handschriften den Inf. Dies macht wiederum klar, wie wenig beweiskräftig eine sprachliche Untersuchung des Textes allein ist, solange nicht auch die Entstehungszeit und der Text der zugrunde liegenden Handschrift in Betracht gezogen werden.

Der Gen. und Dat. des Inf. ist etwa ebenso oft flektiert wie unflektiert; die flektierten Formen haben bei Boner immer die partizipiale Endung *-ende(s)*.

Ein wesentlich anderes Bild zeigen zwei kleinere Gedichte dieses Jahrhunderts.

*Der Maget Krône*, dessen Sprache entschieden auf alemannische Abkunft weist, ist nur in einer einzigen Handschrift erhalten, die aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jh. stammt. Über ihre Zuverlässigkeit sagt der Herausgeber nichts.

In den Bruchstücken, die Zingerle veröffentlicht, findet sich nur die Umschreibung *werden* mit Inf., nicht aber *werden* mit Part. Präs.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Inf. steht:

II, 3. und wirt nâch der bûch sag  
lachen an dem jungsten tag.  
si wirt auf tûn iren mûnt.

IV, 433. und morn wirst enphâhen schön  
von deiner arbeit deinen lôn,

*Werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Inf. findet sich IV, 283; V, 330; im Prät. Konj. mit Inf. VII, 37.

Diese Beispiele lassen vielleicht darauf schließen, daß in der engeren Heimat des Dichters oder Schreibers, über die wir leider nichts wissen, der Abfall der Endungen in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts eingesetzt hatte; darauf deutet auch die Tatsache, daß alle Infinitive unflektiert erscheinen.

Ähnliche Formen enthalten die von Mone in "Schauspiele des Mittelalters," I, 11 D, veröffentlichten Auszüge aus der Konstanzer Bearbeitung von *Sibyllen Weissagung*, einem Gedicht aus dem 14. Jh. Die Handschrift befindet sich in der ältesten Konstanzer Stadtchronik und gehört nach Mones Ansicht noch in dasselbe Jahrhundert. Vogt, der PBB. IV, 48ff. die verschiedenen Versionen und Handschriften eingehend bespricht, gibt keinen Aufschluß über die Zeit der Niederschrift, enthält sich sogar eines eigenen Urteils: "Die Handschrift, welche man ins 14. Jh. setzt." Aber ernste Zweifel an der Richtigkeit dieser frühen Ansetzung erweckt vor allem die moderne Form des Fut. Pass. 73a,22 (*und werdent sunst erschlagen werden*), deren Entwicklung erst in spätere Zeit fällt; ferner auch der Umstand, daß die Futurumschreibungen *sollen* und *wollen* mit Inf. dem Sprachgebrauch des 14. Jh. zuwider ganz wesentlich hinter *werden* mit Inf. zurücktreten (nach Kurrelmeyer S. 60 steht *sollen* mit Inf. nur 7mal, *wollen* mit Inf.

Smal). Bestärkt werden diese Zweifel durch einen Vergleich mit dem Schauspiel *Der jüngste Tag*, aus dem die Konstanzer Bearbeitung der Sibylle, wie Vogt a. a. O. nachweist, einen längeren Passus entlehnt hat. Mone, *Schauspiele des Ma. I*, 273ff. druckt eine Handschrift des Schauspiels vom Jahre 1467 aus dem Kloster Rheinau bei Schaffhausen ab, und da weisen die drei Stellen, wo die Sibylleninterpolation *werden* mit *Inf.* hat, ältere Ausdrücke der Zukunft auf, nämlich das Präsens und *müezen*:

J. T. 356,10 beschehent: S. W. Bl. 76a,4 werdent geschehen.

J. T. 357,33 das fürchtet die lut: S. W. Bl. 76a,30 daz werdent die lút fürchten.

J. T. 359,59 die búchel müesent sich nider län: S. W. Bl. 76a,56 búhel werdent sich nider lon.<sup>45</sup>

Bedenkt man überdies, daß die zahlreichen Sibyllenhandschriften fast durchgängig aus dem 15. Jh. stammen und daß die beregte Interpolation, offenbar ein späterer Einfall, nur in einer andern Handschrift, der Dresdener aus dem letzten Viertel des 15. Jh., auftritt, so liegt die Annahme nahe, daß auch die Konstanzer Handschrift nicht viel früher entstanden sein wird.

So erklärt sich wohl die auffallende Erscheinung, daß alle vorkommenden Futurumschreibungen mit *werden* den *Inf.* haben: Bl. 72a, 2, 8, 10; 72b, 1, 4, 21, 33, 34, 39, 52; 73a, 3, 21, 22, 24 (Kurrelmeyer S. 60 zitiert fälschlich *zusendind* für *zusenden*), 55, 62; 74a, 8, 9, 10; 76a, 4, 30, 56.

Bl. 65b,43 *er wirt von got und des holzes wegen gesund und dar zu daz ewig leben* hat Mone *daz* in Klammer gesetzt und in der Anm. hinzugesetzt "ist störend." Er zieht also *leben* als *Inf.* zu *wirt*, was aber doch sehr fraglich ist.

Das *t* in der Endung der 3. Pers. Pl. Präs. ist noch vorhanden, wonach der Abfall des auslautenden *Dentals* noch nicht allgemein war. Darauf deutet auch die Form *zwüschent* Bl. 76a,93.

Der *Inf.* erscheint nur einmal in obliquem Kasus, Bl. 72b,43, und hat die partizipiale Endung.—

<sup>45</sup> Eine von Kurrelmeyer S. 60 erwähnte Parallelstelle *müezen schrigen: werdent schrigen* findet sich nicht. Dagegen ist S. W. Bl. 76a,28 *wan denn so sicht man die welt brinnen* im J. T. 357,31 durch *so wirt denn die welt brinnen* wiedergegeben. Dies ist der einzige Fall einer Futurumschreibung mit *werden* in letzterem Schauspiel.

## 2. PROSAWERKE

Die Mystik des 14. Jh. zeitigte eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Prosaschriften.

Um die Wende des Jahrhunderts oder im ersten Viertel desselben werden die *Tractate* MEISTER ECKHARTS (gest. 1327) entstanden sein. Die von Birlinger veröffentlichte Handschrift (Alem. III, 15-45, 97-119, 205-235) in alemannisch-elsässischem Dialekt ist gleichfalls aus diesem Jahrhundert.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs. steht: 214,40; 232,31; 234,17; *werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Part. Präs. in inchoativer Bedeutung findet sich 234,13,16.

*Werden* mit Inf. ist je einmal belegt im Präs. und im Prät. Konj.:

- 208,14. Es wirt ein borne us fliesen von unsers herren huse.  
35,19. vnd er sie minnen würd.

Der flektierte Inf. findet sich sowohl mit regelmäßiger Endung als auch mit der Endung *-ende*; die regelmäßige ist aber wesentlich häufiger, das Verhältnis ist etwa 5:1.

Beachtenswert sind außerdem folgende Stellen:

21,36. *ir sont gen an alle die stet, da ir durhehtent werdent.* Hier hat das Part. Prät. die Endung des Part. Präs.

233,10. *Ich wil in brot regenne von himel.* Der Dat. Inf. beruht möglicherweise auf Verwechslung mit dem Part. Präs., obwohl auch diese Form falsch wäre.

Die Predigten des Mystikers NICOLAUS VON STRAßBURG, dem Papst Johann XXII 1326 das Amt eines Nunzius übertrug, werden alle noch in die erste Hälfte des 14. Jh. fallen. Von den Handschriften hat Pfeiffer, der 13 Predigten des Nicolaus im ersten Band der deutschen Mystiker S. 261-305 veröffentlicht, im wesentlichen die Pfälzer (A) aus dem 14. Jh. und die Weingartner (B) aus dem 15. Jh. benutzt.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs. steht 261,5ff.,15; 262,20; 264,10; 273,26ff.; 274,10; 285,21,22; 295,15; 296,4,37; 299,32,36; 300,6.

Die Partizipien 295,15 und 296,4 sind wohl nominal zu fassen; die Umschreibung dient nicht zum Ausdruck der Zukunft. Dagegen ist eine reinliche Scheidung für das Part. *lebende* 273,25ff. kaum möglich; es läßt sowohl adjektivische wie verbale Auffassung zu. In allen andern Belegen ist *werden* mit Part. Präs. deutlich Futurumschreibung.

*Werden* im Prät. mit Part. Präs. steht 287,40 (nominal); 289,28 und 305,17 (2mal). Nur 289,28 ist es im Ind. Prät. gebraucht, in den andern Belegen im Konj. Prät.

Für *werden* mit Inf. bietet Nicolaus 3 Beispiele:

261,5. Die werdent in verdampnôn und werdent in geischlôn.

(Zwei Handschriften haben statt *verdampnôn* ein Part. Präs.: C hat *verdampnende*, D *verteilende*.)

269,30. diu welt diu wirt iuch hazzen.

(Diese Zeile fehlt in zwei Handschriften, B und D.)

Um zu zeigen, wie der Inf. in ganz gleicher Bedeutung wie das Part. Präs. und gleichzeitig mit demselben von *werden* abhängt, möge die ganze Belegstelle 261,5ff. im Zusammenhang folgen:

Die werdent in verdampnôn und werdent in geischlôn und krenende und verspîgende, und ze jungest werdent siu in ertœtende und an dem dritten tage wirt er ûf stânde von dem tôde.

Irgend ein Grund, weshalb in zwei Fällen die Infinitivform, in vier Fällen die partizipiale Form gewählt wurde, ist nicht einzusehen. Wenn sich wirklich Anzeichen einer Abschleifung geltend machten, so möchte man versucht sein, anzunehmen, daß dies nach den langen Silben *-nôn*, *-lôn* am frühesten der Fall gewesen sei; dagegen spricht aber das folgende *ûf stânde*.

Vermischung der Formen des flektierten Inf. und des Part. Präs. ist durchweg bemerkbar; die Fälle, wo der flektierte Inf. die partizipiale Endung *-ende* hat, sind bei weitem in der Überzahl.

Die Predigten des Straßburgers JOHANNES TAULER, geb. um 1300, gest. 1361, liegen in einer vorzüglichen Ausgabe von Ferdinand Vetter, Berlin 1910, vor. Sie beruht auf folgenden Handschriften: Engelberger Hs. (E), am Schluß datiert 1359; Freiburger Hs. (F), mindestens ebenso alt wie die Engelberger, aber vielfach fehlerhaft; drei verbrannte Straßburger Hss. (S) nach

Abschriften von Karl Schmidt: A 91, die älteste, aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jh., A 89, etwas jünger, aber auch noch dem 14. Jh. entstammend, und A 88 aus dem Anfang des 15. Jh.

Tauler hat nur wenig Verwendung für das abstrakte Futurum. Die der Bibel entsprechenden Stellen und Erzählungen stehen im Prät.; die derselben entnommenen Lehren, die er auf seine Zuhörerschaft anwendet, setzt er in den Imperativ; und wo er die Ausführung in der Zukunft betont, hebt er zumeist die moralische Verpflichtung hervor durch *sollen* mit Inf. nach Art der Gebote. Gebraucht er aber das abstrakte Futurum, so steht fast ausnahmslos *werden* mit Part.

Präs.: 11,35; 28,17 (Hs. F hat den Inf.); 40,1; 75,11; 170,24, 26,29; 189,31; 192,24; 193,32; 194,3; 202,23; 210,21; 288,6 (Hs. S hat den Inf.); 403,6.

Außerdem steht das Part. Präs. nach präsentischem *werden* dreimal in mehr adjektivischer als verbaler Funktion: 56,21; 194,14; 287,21.

*Werden* mit Inf. ist nur einmal sicher belegt, und zwar steht der Inf. neben einem Part. in ein und derselben Konstruktion:

403,6. do wurt er weinende und zene klapperen.

Interessant ist hier die Lesart von F: *zēnende klapperē*, wo der Schreiber offenbar der Meinung war, daß zu *werden* auch hier eine partizipiale Ergänzung gehöre, ohne daß er sich über den Sinn Rechenschaft ablegte.

Im Prät. steht *werden* nur einmal mit dem Part. Präs. und zwar im Ind.: 66,5; das Part. ist nominal.

Vermischung der Formen des flektierten Inf. mit denen des Part. Präs. ist bei Tauler häufig; der flektierte Inf. hat die Endungen *-endes*, *-ende* öfter als die regelmäßigen Endungen. Die Unsicherheit im Gebrauch der Formen des Inf. und des Part. mag durch folgende Beispiele illustriert werden:

31,33. die nature ist in ir selber güt and edel; was wiltu darabe zū hōwende?

(zū hōwende steht zweifellos für den unflektierten Inf. nach *wollen*.)

194,15. das im licht und klein werdent alle ding durch Got ze lident, wūrken unde lossen.

- 215,12. und ir sullent sehen die blossen worheit mit underscheide und ane underscheit, in gedenken, . . . in tünde, in lossende . . . in gedultigem lidende.
- 315,28. Och die nature waget sich lieber zû Rome zû gonde denne dis uzliden. (Hs. S 88 hat uszulidende.)
- 406,35. so die sulen der welte sullent bibende.  
(Inf. mit Partizipialendung bei *sollen*.)

Die Schriften HEINRICH SEUSES (geb. etwa 1300, vermutlich in Konstanz, gest. 1366) sind von außerordentlicher Bedeutung für die Beurteilung der Sprache auf alemannischem Gebiet um die Mitte des 14. Jh. Sie gleichen in diesem Punkt den Grieshaberschen Predigten aus der Mitte des 13. Jh., sind aber tatsächlich von noch höherem Werte. Während wir bei Grieshabers Prediger nur vermuten konnten, daß er die Niederschriften seiner Predigten selbst besorgt oder wenigstens redigiert habe, haben wir darüber bei Seuse volle Gewißheit. Denn eine Hauptarbeit Seuses in seinen späteren Lebensjahren war die Redaktion und Zusammenfassung seiner vier Hauptschriften: der *Vita*, des *Büchleins der ewigen Weisheit*, des *Büchleins der Wahrheit* und des *kleinen Briefbüchleins*. Seuses geistliche Memoiren sind ein frühes Beispiel einer Autobiographie in deutscher Sprache. Dazu kommt, daß Seuse eine gründliche gelehrte Bildung genossen hatte; der Dominikanerorden, dem er angehörte, legte darauf außerordentlichen Wert. Die Kenntnis von Latein, Logik und Rhetorik war beim Eintritt in den Orden vorausgesetzt; dann wurde den begabteren Mitgliedern eine weitere Gelegenheit zu wissenschaftlicher Ausbildung in Köln gegeben. Zu den wenigen, die auf diese Hochschule geschickt wurden, gehörte Seuse.

In den vier erwähnten Schriften Seuses, dem sogenannten *Exemplar*, haben wir sorgfältig geprüfte Niederschriften eines Mannes, der auf der Höhe der Bildung seiner Zeit stand. Die Sprache solcher Denkmäler muß uns ein einwandfreies Bild der Formen dieser Zeit geben.

Karl Bihlmeyer hat in seine Ausgabe der deutschen Schriften Seuses, Stuttgart 1907, außer den von dem Verfasser redigierten Schriften noch das *große Briefbuch*, die *Predigten* und das *Minnebüchlein* aufgenommen. Somit ist uns Gelegenheit gegeben, aus

dem Vergleich der redigierten und der nicht redigierten Schriften wertvolle Schlüsse zu ziehen.

Seuses Schriften sind in sehr zahlreichen Handschriften überliefert. Von diesen hat Bihlmeyer dem *Exemplar* (S. 1-401 seiner Ausgabe) die älteste und beste Hs. A zugrunde gelegt; sie ist aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jh. und ihr alemannischer Dialekt ist leicht vom Elsässischen beeinflusst.

Von den Umschreibungen mit *werden* gebraucht Seuse im *Exemplar* nur die mit Part. Präs., sowohl im Präs. als auch im Prät.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs. steht 21,3; 33,24; 57,12,14; 69,28; 93,11; 135,22; 159,7; 164,27; 167,5; 184,17; 185,27,28; 195,4; 205,18; 222,15; 241,9,11; 265,25; 274,28; 282,23; 303,25; 342,27; 345,27; 362,7; 364,17,19; 369,25; 371,8; 373,26; 376,27; 380,16; 382,12; 391,13.

Die Umschreibung entspricht fast durchweg dem modernen Futurum; nur 265,25 ist das Part. (*lebent*) nominal. Das ist naturgemäß auch stets der Fall, wo wie in 40,11; 125,11; 374,22; 447,1 *werden* im Perf. oder Plusquamperf. steht; das Tempus, das die Vollendung in der Vergangenheit ausdrückt, verleiht dem Part. nominale Bedeutung, da es ihm den Begriff der Dauer mitteilt.

*Werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Part. Präs. steht: 5,3; 15,20,29; 31,13; 35,6; 39,8; 43,25; 45,15,17; 66,8,23,24; 67,6; 70,20; 76,11; 77,1,26; 82,1; 90,4; 93,27; 116,18; 117,5; 122,8; 123,16; 125,11; 136,32; 137,5; 139,31; 143,29; 151,1; 152,2; 204,5; 272,26; 315,3; 338,17. Diese Umschreibung wird von Seuse im wesentlichen zur Hervorhebung der inchoativen Aktionsart gebraucht. Im Prät. Konj. steht die Verbindung 291,14.

*Werden* mit Inf. kommt überhaupt nicht vor.

Die nicht von Seuse redigierten Schriften sind nicht alle in alemannischen Niederschriften erhalten; die Predigten S.509-536 sind nur in mittel- und niederdeutschen Handschriften auf uns gekommen. Leider sind die Umschreibungen mit *werden* in dem niederdeutschen Text, den Bihlmeyer benutzt, nicht gebraucht, sodaß keinerlei Schlüsse aus dem Vergleich mit dem hochdeutschen Text der übrigen Schriften zu ziehen sind. Das Part. Präs. steht einmal bei *sein* 534,2.



Der hochdeutsche, alemannische Text der nicht im *Exemplar* erhaltenen Schriften enthält folgende Beispiele:

*Werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs. durchweg als Futurumschreibung: 408,8; 412,12,13; 423,20; 432,23; 449,6; 458,1; 459,27; 460,4; 474,8; 479,3; 504,7; 507,7; 542,28; 547,33.

Zu 449,6: so uns nu daz gemint liep wirt sunderlich minnende und meinnende—vgl. 376,27.

Zu 458,1: es wurt aber schier in dem fleische lendende—vgl. 369,25, wo statt *lendende* das zweifellos richtige *endende* steht.

Zu 460,4: als manigen rubin wirstu in diner krone tragent—vgl. 371,8.

*Werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Part. Präs. ist nicht belegt; bei *werden* im Prät. Konj. steht das Part. Präs. einmal: 473,11.

Im Gegensatz zum *Exemplar* enthält der von Seuse nicht redigierte Text in Bihlmeyers Ausgabe zweimal *werden* mit Inf.:

419,13. des werdent ir nu selber enpfinden.

(Hier hat aber die Züricher Hs. z, die der Herausgeber für die beste hält, und die er hier zugrunde gelegt hat (s. S. 43) *enpfindent*; es ist daher ganz unverständlich, daß der Text nicht diese Form wiedergibt.)

452,19. der wirt als ein pantier sinen süssen smak wite zerspreiten.

Die Form *furkommen* 500,18: *Wanne nach der heiligen lere so wurt die bescheidenheit dicke furkommen* ist nicht Inf. sondern Part. Prät., wie der Vergleich mit dem von Bihlmeyer angegebenen lateinischen Text zeigt.

Das umfangreiche Werk Seuses enthält also nur einen einwandfreien Beleg für *werden* mit Inf., und zwar in dem von ihm nicht korrigierten Text. Man ist daher versucht, diese Form als Schreibfehler für das Part. Präs. aufzufassen.

Als solcher muß auch wohl der scheinbare Inf. angesehen werden, der einmal nach *sein* steht:

96,11. alle ir fliz waz stellen nah geischlicher lere.

(Hs. M hat hier gemäß Bihlmeyers Anm. *stellent*.)

Im *Exemplar* finden sich nur wenige Beispiele, in denen der flektierte Inf. die Endung des Part. Präs. zeigt: 16,14; 44,7; 143,18; 349,32. 143,18 lautet: *Und also mit weinende und suzfzende kom er wider zû im selben*. In zwei Handschriften (M und A<sup>1</sup>) fehlt *mit*, wiederum ein Beweis, wie leicht die Verwechslung der beiden Formen statthaben konnte.

Zu diesen wenigen Belegen kommen noch einige aus dem *Büchlein der Wahrheit*, dessen Inhalt oft schwer verständlich ist; es ist daher nicht durchweg klar, ob Seuse wirklich den Inf. gemeint hat.

- 350,2. Cristo beleip sin wille nach wellender wise. Dem menschen ver-  
gat sin wille nach dem wellende.  
350,4. Und hie hat er nit werk soliches wellendes in gebrestlicher wise als  
da vor ist geseit.  
353,23. Das ewig niht, daz hie und in allen gerehten vernünftin ist ge-  
meinet, das es niht si nüt von sime nütside.

Immerhin ist die Zahl der Fälle, in denen der flektierte Inf. mit partizipialer Endung erscheint, im Vergleich zum Umfang des Werkes so gering, daß wohl nur Schreibversehen anzunehmen sind. Es bestätigt sich mithin das schon oben Bemerkte, daß bei den Gebildeten, namentlich bei denen, die das Latein gründlich beherrschten, der flektierte Inf. auf *-ende* so gut wie nicht vorkommt; er tritt nur bei den Halbgebildeten auf. Dabei ist natürlich vorauszusetzen, daß die falschen Formen oft auf Rechnung der Schreiber, nicht aber der Verfasser zu setzen sind. Zum Beweis möge ein Vergleich mit den Schriften dienen, die nicht im *Exemplar* stehen. Wenn man den erheblich größeren Umfang des *Exemplars* in Betracht zieht, so sind die Fälle, in denen *-ende* für *-enne* steht, in den nicht von Seuse redigierten Schriften ganz wesentlich häufiger. Sie stehen 426,19; 437,5; 447,23; 456,23; 463,21; 466,26; 468,22; 472,26; 473,21(3mal),22; 474,2,20; 475,3; 486,8,10; 488,4(2mal),15; 490,7; 491,7,31; 492,5; 493,12; 495,11; 496,12; 497,20,21(2mal); 498,12,14,28; 499,4,5,25; 500,1; 502,23,25; 503,17,19,21,23,24; 505,19; 506,1,2,4; 507,8,19,22. Hier ergibt sich die auffallende Tatsache, daß allein 10 dieser Beispiele in Brief XXVIII S. 486-494, stehen und somit Bihlmeyers Zweifel (S. XV Anm.) an der Echtheit desselben zu stützen scheinen. Andererseits aber steht es ganz ähnlich mit Predigt I, S. 495-508, und doch ist ihre Echtheit kaum zu bestreiten. Sie findet sich in einer Reihe von Handschriften; Bihlmeyer bemerkt aber S.43, daß die Überlieferung keine besonders gute sei, da auch die relativ beste Handschrift nicht wenig Fehler aufweise. Das bestätigt sich hier

in Bezug auf den flektierten Inf., der durchweg mit der partizipialen Endung, nie mit der regelmäßigen gebraucht wird.

Der niederdeutsche Text der Predigten II-IV läßt in Bezug auf die Endungen des flektierten Inf. keinen Vergleich zu, da die Formen des Inf. schon Verlust der Endung zeigen. Das Part. Präs. hat dagegen überall seine Endung; ein Abfall des *-d* ist nirgends festzustellen.

Zu erwähnen bleibt eine Stelle 465,13: *es lit an eime uffgeben willen in gottes willen*. Vgl. dazu Merswin, Buch von den neun Felsen, S.93,28,) *mit eime rehthen ufgebbeden . . . . wille*. Es handelt sich hier offenbar um eine den Mystikern geläufige Vorstellung und Redensart. Das *uffgeben* Seuse 465,13 wäre der einen einwandfreien Infinitivform nach *werden* 452,19 und dem scheinbaren Inf. nach *sein* 96,11 zuzurechnen als drittes Beispiel des Abfalls der partizipialen Endung in Seuses Schriften.

Wie Seuses Werke uns ein klares Bild geben von der Sprache der Gelehrten um die Mitte des 14. Jh., so bietet das *Buch von den neun Felsen* des Straßburgers RULMAN MERSWIN eine ebenso treffliche Probe von der Sprache der Laien jener Zeit. Das Buch liegt in Rulmans eigener Handschrift vor; es ist im Jahre 1352 geschrieben. Einige im Original fehlende Stellen sind vom Herausgeber Carl Schmidt aus der besten ältesten Kopie Codex E ergänzt.

Was die Schreibweise der Formen von *werden* betrifft, so sei bemerkt, daß Rulman sehr häufig den Vokal der Stammsilbe fehlen läßt, sowohl im Präs. als auch im Prät.; er schreibt *wr. . .* Nur aus dem Zusammenhang läßt sich dann auf die Gegenwarts- oder Vergangenheitsformen schließen.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs. steht: 3,25; 5,1; 6,18,26(2mal); 9,10; 12,13; 25,13; 27,25(2mal); 33,22; 39,12,13; 53,13ff.; 58,29,30; 60,13; 61,33; 62,1; 63,10,19; 64,10; 66,6; 67,17; 72,9; 74,15; 76,28; 87,3; 93,12ff.; 108,21,22; 116,4,18(2mal),19,21,26; 119,29; 128,7; 131,1; 135,9; 140,11; 141,12,23; 145,31; 147,15,18.

In allen diesen Belegen steht *werden* mit Part. Präs. in futurischem Sinne.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Inf. kommt dagegen nur an drei Stellen vor:

33,20. ich förhte daz sich die weltlichen menschen werdent sere stosen und abe der phafheit sich werdent ergernde.

(Vgl. dazu 116,3: *daz sich etteliche menschen werdent stosende und ergernde*. Das Nebeneinander von Inf. und Part. sowie die Parallelstelle legen die Vermutung nahe, daß der Inf. oben auf bloßem Versehen beruhe.)

65,10. ich wil dir sagen, du wrst nû sehen und heren das du gerne wrst sehhende und herende werden.

(Vgl. dazu 74,15: *du wrdest dirre dinge noch gar fil sehhende werden*. Es scheint sich das Bestreben zu äußern, mit Vermeidung der Häufung von Partizipialendungen die inchoative (oder durative?) Aktionsart in der zweiten Hälfte des Satzgefüges durch das Futurum von *werden* mit halb nominalem (aber in der Beibehaltung des Objekts doch noch verbalem) Partizip zu betonen. Diese Doppelkonstruktion ist in der neueren Sprache unmöglich geworden; das einfache Futurum steht für alle Aktionsarten.)

141,22. dofan wrt es got uffe eine cit losen löfende.

(Hier hat Rulman offenbar die Partizipialendung versehentlich dem unrechten von zwei nebeneinanderstehenden und ähnlich klingenden Verben angehängt, denn er gebraucht nach *lassen* sonst immer den Inf. Vgl. 3,24; 49,23; 64,23; 65,28; 133,13.)

*Werden* im Prät. mit Part. Präs. findet sich 11mal. Im Ind. steht die Form 14,4; 17,32,34; sie dient dem Ausdruck der inchoativen Aktionsart. Im Konj. ist sie 21,23,24; 56,27; 119,16,18; 133,14; 144,20,21 belegt.

Das Beispiel 74,15, wo *werden* im Prät. Konj. mit dem Inf. *werden* gebraucht ist, ist oben erwähnt worden.

Der flektierte Inf. hat bei Rulman die Endung *-ende(s)*; die regelmäßigen Endungen *-ennes*, *-enne* werden auch bei völlig substantivischen Infinitiven nicht gebraucht.

Rulman zeigt eine große Vorliebe für die partizipiale Konstruktion. Die Fälle, wo das Part. Präs. nach dem Verb. subst. steht, sind so zahlreich, daß es einer Aufzählung nicht bedarf; fast jede Seite liefert Beispiele. Bemerkenswert ist die unpersönliche Konstruktion 75,7 *was ist dir schriggende?*

Außer etwa bei den fragwürdigen Infinitivformen nach *werden* sind Anzeichen des Verlusts der partizipialen Endung nicht zu finden. Einige Beispiele, wo das *-n-* vor *-de* fehlt, mögen vermerkt

werden: 56,27 *besserde*; 77,6 und 91,18 *bekennede*; 131,22 *wandelde*. Die nämliche Form hat der Dat. Inf. 71,33 *zū wandelde*.

Die von Birlinger Alem. XIII, XIV veröffentlichte *Legenda Aurea*, eine Überarbeitung des gleichnamigen Werkes von Jacobus a Voragine (gest. 1298), ist demselben Codex entnommen wie die *Elsässischen Predigten* Alem. I, II. Die Handschrift ist im Jahre 1362 vollendet (vgl. Alem. I, 60); über ihre Zuverlässigkeit sagt Birlinger nichts.

Präsentes *werden* mit Part. Präs. findet sich: XIII, 66,17; 68,31,33,34,36,37,41,42,44; 69,7,33,43; 70,29; 75,22; 76,8; 85,38; 89,7,8; 97,12; 101,39; 105,29; 107,28; 113,35; 114,16; 117,37,38; 121,39; XIV, 123,40; 126,41; 135,13; 140,42; 141,47; 144,14; 148,12; 166,16. Nur in wenigen Fällen ist das Part. nominal: XIII, 101,39 und 121,39; XIV, 123,40; 126,41; 140,42; 141,47. In allen andern handelt es sich um die Futur-umschreibung.

*Werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Part. Präs. steht XIII, 104,26,32; 116,27; XIV, 116,8; 121,13; 122,15; 123,44; 133,3; 152,20. XIV, 116,8 dient dem Ausdruck der inchoativen Aktionsart; 122,15 vertritt die Umschreibung das einfache Prät. In den übrigen Fällen ist das Part. mehr nominal als verbal. *Werden* im Konj. mit Part. Präs. steht XIV, 128,45; 134,9; 148,3.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Inf. dient nur 3mal zum Ausdruck der Zukunft:

XIV, 122,40. so wirstu den ewigen lon enphohen für dine arbeit.

137,5. daz ir üt soliche pin werdent liden.

153,10. ir werdent nüt rechnunge für mich geben.

Zu bemerken ist, daß die Beispiele von *werden* mit Inf. alle in Bd. XIV stehen. Birlinger erwähnt nicht, ob mehrere Schreiber anzunehmen sind; die vom übrigen Text abweichende Orthographie (z. B. XIII verschiedene Male *zwüschent*, dagegen XIV *zwischent*) läßt vielleicht darauf schließen.

Der flektierte Inf. hat immer die Endung *-ende(s)*. Der unflektierte Inf. wird im Gen. und Dat. wesentlich seltener gebraucht als der flektierte.

Eine Vorliebe für die Endung *n*+Dental ist überall ersichtlich; vgl. die oben erwähnte Form *zwüschent* (*zwischent*), ferner XIV,

122,35; 142,27; 182,32 *neben*, und XIV, 162,6 *in der selbent wirtschafft*. Einige Male hat auch das Part. Prät. die Endung *-nt*; so XIII, 99,43 *dis ist der tag, an dem der propheten sprüche ernuwent werdent*; XIV, 153,28 *doch wort er von dem gebette des abbetes erlosent*.

Sehr eigentümlich und wohl auf Versehen beruhend ist folgende Form für das Prät.: XIII, 93,41 *er gesehende eine frowe, die hies Sinticen*.

Nach dem Verb. subst. steht das Part. Präs. XIII, 71,31; 72,26; 82,12; 101,9; 111,37; 119,8; 125,17.

Die von Birlinger, Alem. I und II, herausgegebenen *Elsässischen Predigten* bieten folgende Belege:

*Werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs.: I, 72,23(2mal); 225,16; 226,11; 233,19,21,25; 245,39; II, 3,13; 12,5,6. Mit Ausnahme von I, 72,23, wo die Partizipien adjektivisch sind, ist die Verbindung Futur-umschreibung.

*Werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Part. Präs. steht I, 225,7; 231,42; II, 10,6; 21,1; 110,37; 217,35.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Inf. findet sich:

II, 106,35. über den werdent sū klagen an dem jungesten tage.  
109,20. joch werden vns anefehten nach dinem tode die freidegen wolfe.

Nach *werden* im Prät. Ind. steht der Inf. II, 207,22.

Das von Kurrelmeyer S. 57 angeführte Beispiel I, 86,11 ist unrichtig. Die Stelle lautet: *ich wil dir zöugen ein gros hochzit do dir vil grosze gobe geben wirt*. Kurrelmeyer zitiert falsch: *do dir gote geben wirt*. *Geben* ist aber nicht Inf., sondern Part. Prät., das in diesem Denkmal oft ohne die perfektivierende Vorsilbe *ge* gebraucht wird (z. B. I, 68,24; 73,32; 74,21; II, 4,9; 9,2; 13,28; 14,15).

Wie der Inf. und das Part. verwechselt wurden, zeigt z. B. I, 83,3 *und begunden die ünden schlahende*. Nach *beginnen* steht sonst regelmäßig der Inf. mit oder ohne *zu*. Auch der scheinbare Inf. nach *werden* mag daher der Verwechslung des Part. Präs. mit dem Dat. Inf., der entweder flektiert oder unflektiert erscheint, zuzuschreiben sein.

Die Anzahl der Beispiele, wo Gen. oder Dat. des Inf. unflektiert erscheinen, ist wesentlich geringer als die der flektierten

Formen. Die letzteren zeigen immer die partizipiale Endung, nie die regelmäßige.

Auch in diesem Denkmal steht wieder *zwischen* für *zwischen* I, 80,23 und II, 26,27. Auf andere Formen, wo in dieser Handschrift das unorganische *t* erscheint, weist Birlinger Alem. I, 62 hin; sie sind bezeichnend dafür, daß eine Neigung zum Fallenlassen der Endung nicht bestand.

Die Predigten XXVII-LXX und die Gebete 92-98 in Wacker-nagels *Alteutsche Predigten und Gebete* sind auf alemannischem Boden im 14. Jh. entstanden. Ihr Wert wird dadurch erhöht, daß sie von verschiedenen Schreibern aufgezeichnet und daß die Niederschriften im 14. Jh. vollendet sind.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Part. Präs. steht: XLI, 95; XLVII, 60; XLVIII, 150; XLIX, 58; LIII, 45,93,96,292,297; LVII, 58; LVIII, 1,19; LXI, 42; LXIV, 18 *wirt redenne* (offenbar für *redende*, da der Dat. Inf. nicht in Betracht kommen kann); LXVIII, 49,50,246, 360,361; LXIX, 67, 81 (vgl. unten *werden* mit Inf. LXIX, 81), 84,86,90,92,111,196; Gebet 97,39. Die Verbindung dient hier durchweg als Ausdruck der Zukunft.

Es ist bemerkenswert, daß in diesen Belegen das Part. Präs. 12mal die volle Endung *-de* zeigt, dagegen 16mal Apokope des *-e*, nicht aber den Wegfall des Dentals.

*Werden* im Prät. Ind. mit Part. Präs. kommt 2mal vor: LVII, 62 und LXIX, 19.

Nach *sein* ist das Part. Präs. ziemlich häufig: XLI, 251; XLVIII, 48,49,53,54,68; LIX, 54; LXII, 10,11,12,22,23,24; LXIII, 16; LXVI, 7,25,45,66,88,122,123,124; LXIX, 68; LXX, 10; Gebet, 99,2.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Inf. steht 7mal:

LIV, 265. daz wir daz schowen werden dez helfe vns got.

LVIII, 37. vnt wirt si der tievil schenden.

LXIV, 30. also wirt diu sele fiessen.

LXVI, 66. so wirt min vernunfte erliuchtet vnt vereinet mit minnen vnt dar inne gotte bekennen vnt minnen.

(Von *wirt* hängt sowohl das Part. Prät. wie der Inf. gleichzeitig ab; das der Form nach präsentische Passiv hat gleichwie das *wirt* mit Inf. futurische Kraft. Daß der scheinbare Inf. als Part. geföhlt wurde, geht deutlich daraus hervor, daß die Form dem Part. Prät. nebengeordnet, *mithin* adjektivisch ist.)

LXIX, 79. du wirst ouch an sechen die aller minsten schulde.

81. du wirdest under die stegen der sele gan Und har usz wüschent das pulver der schulde.

(Da hier Part. Präs. und Inf. in gleichem Satze von demselben Hilfsverb abhängen, so ist wohl kaum zu zweifeln, daß der scheinbare Inf. als Part. empfunden wurde.)

Gebet 92,12. das dv mir helfest das ich . . . . vnschuldig aller miner sunde werde stan.

Außer bei den wenigen Infinitivformen finden sich Anzeichen des Abfalls der partizipialen Endung nicht. Wir müssen somit annehmen, daß diese Formen auch hier eher in der Verwechslung des Part. Präs. mit dem flektierten Inf. ihren Ursprung haben. Denn diese Vermischung ist ganz augenfällig; man betrachte nur folgende aufs Geratewohl herausgegriffene Beispiele:

XLVIII, 113. wær ez unflætig so gezæm aim grossen fürsten drinn übel ze wonenn. Wæri ez och enge so gezæme aim grossen fürsten aber drinne nit ze wonende.

118. so gezæm im aber übel drinne ze sinne.

125. wider der frassheit sol man striten mit vastenn und swach spis essen. Wider die unkiuschi sol man striten mit veniande . . . . und mit arbeitend.

LIII, 192. mit vasten und mit wachene.

254. vnd ie mittvnt an ezzent. vnd ist des ezzinis noch alse vil.

LVI, 497. allis das sterbinnis an der mensheit ist.

(Die Hs. B. hat gemäß Wackernagels Anm. S. 148 *sterbendes*. Das Partizip ist wohl auch in der Handschrift des Textes beabsichtigt, mit Verwechslung der Formen aber der Gen. Inf. gewählt.)

LXII, 86. Da von vermag er indem wesende alles . . . . Vnd ovch ab dem wesende.

LXIII, 6. Etwenne glust si die creatur zeversmehende. Etwenne ir selbes nature zevertretende. Etwenne lustet si an der driualtikeit sich zevebende.

61. Es ruowent verstendige creaturen niergent denne an irem würkende. Was ist das ende mines würkendes.

LXV, 36. Do diu creature endet do beginnet got gesinde.

127. des enmag diu sele nit wol erlidenne.

LXVI, 40. vnt erfüllet si mit sinem wesenne.

LXX, 76. was dir niut erlobt ist ze begeren noch ze tuend.

97. wenn man das git mit wüssent den liuten.

119. das selb zetuenn.



Es zeigt sich wiederum, daß gerade in der Sprache der Volksprediger, die sich an den gemeinen Mann wandten, die flektierten Formen des Inf. oft die partizipiale Endung aufweisen. Man wird vielleicht nicht irre gehen in der Annahme, daß bei diesen Predigern, die oft, wie Wackernagel von Berthold von Regensburg sagt, "von Gelehrsamkeit wenig beschwert" waren, eine ungenaue Kenntnis des Lateinischen die Verwirrung in den Formen des Part. und des Inf. herbeigeführt hat. Der flektierte Inf. im Lateinischen hat *-d-*, die flektierten Formen des Part. *-t-* in der Endung, zwei Laute, die ja in der Muttersprache der Prediger im Auslaut wechselten.

Die 3. Pers. Pl. Ind. Präs. hat in den Predigten das *-nt* der Endung bewahrt; eine Neigung, den Dental der Endung nach *n* fallen zu lassen; ist nicht wahrnehmbar. Im Gegenteil, auch die 1. und 3. Pers. Pl. Konj. endigen zuweilen auf *-ent*, und ebenso die 1. und 3. Pers. Pl. Ind. und Konj. Prät. und die entsprechenden Formen der Präterito-Präs.; vgl. Weinholds gramm. Betrachtungen zu den Aلد. Predigten und Gebeten S. 462ff.

Einige *Predigtbruchstücke* ZfdA. XXIV, 128 in alemannischem Dialekt aus dem 14. Jh. enthalten nur ein Beispiel für *werden* mit Part. Präs.: 131,103.

*Werden* mit Inf. kommt nicht vor.

Erwähnung verdient 129,7: *do fürten si unsern herren fur pilatum gibundenne*. Part. Prät. mit der Endung des flektierten Inf.

Eine *Straßburger Handschrift* von Grieshabers Predigtsammlung, welche die Mundart des niedern Elsasses zeigt, ist von Wackernagel ZfdA. VII, 140-159 herausgegeben. Über den Wert der Handschrift äußert sich Wackernagel nicht. Als Entstehungszeit möchte er noch das 14. Jh. annehmen.

Die drei Predigten enthalten ein Beispiel für präsentisches *werden* mit Part. Präs. 142,26.

*Werden* mit Inf. kommt dagegen 3mal vor:

142,15. *dine jugent die wurt sich ernuwen.*

152,11. *vnd der gedang bringet dih recht wider daz du gotte wurst dienen.  
Und üme wurst danken.*

Folgende Stelle ist beachtenswert: 152,24 *Wer ist nun die az. das ist die starcke und die sniden vrteil. Sniden steht zweifellos für snidende, also wieder Part. Präs. in der Form des Inf.; der partizipiale Charakter ist aber ganz klar, und war es offenbar auch dem Sprachgefühl jener Zeit. Somit dürfen wir wohl vermuten, daß auch die obigen scheinbaren Infinitive nach werden als Partizipien gefühlt wurden; so möchte auch Wackernagel sie auffassen (vgl. S. 152 Anm.).*

Sind Gen. und Dat. Inf. flektiert, so haben sie die partizipiale Endung. Sie erscheinen aber 5mal so häufig ohne Endung; zur Zeit der Handschrift war demnach der Abfall der Endungen schon in vollem Gange. Daß auch der Dental der Endung zu schwinden begann, wird durch die Form *tusen* 157,5 für *tusent* angedeutet. Fällt also die Handschrift wirklich noch in das 14. Jh., wie Wackernagel meint, so dürften nur die letzten Jahre in Betracht kommen.

### 3. ÜBERSICHT

Die Untersuchung der Umschreibungen mit *werden* in alemanischen Denkmälern des 14. Jh. ergibt, daß *werden* mit Part. Präs. noch bei weitem die geläufigere Verbindung war (vgl. Tabelle III). Von 341 Belegen dieser Umschreibung entfallen 84 auf das Prät., 257 auf das Präs. mit fast ausschließlich futurischer Bedeutung.

Für *werden* mit Inf. finden sich 71 Beispiele, in denen *werden* 7mal im Prät., 64mal im Präs. steht. Die Futurumschreibung *werden* mit Inf. hat mithin im Vergleich zum 13. Jh. an Boden gewonnen. Das Verhältnis der Verbindung *werden* mit Part. Präs. zu der mit Inf. ist etwa 5:1. Werden aber die 22 Belege aus *Sibyllen Weissagung* abgerechnet, da dieses Denkmal nicht einwandfrei in das 14. Jh. verwiesen ist, sondern Formen enthält, die auf spätere Entstehung deuten, so verschiebt sich das Verhältnis zu etwa 7:1.

Die von ihm selbst korrigierten Werke Seuses aus der Mitte des Jahrhunderts beweisen, daß in der Sprache der Gebildeten um diese Zeit *werden* mit Part. Präs. die korrekte Form des Futurums war, nicht *werden* mit Inf. Ebenso lassen auch Seuses Schriften

keinen Zweifel, daß der grammatisch Geschulte die Endungen des Part. Präs. und des flektierten Inf. streng auseinanderzuhalten wußte. In den meisten übrigen Schriften, namentlich in den Predigten, tritt aber die Vermischung dieser Formen, vorzüglich das Eindringen der Endung *-de(s)* in die obliquen Casus des Inf., deutlicher zu Tage, auffallender als im 13. Jh. Um so größer wird die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß, ebenso wie diese Casus auch ohne Endung gebraucht wurden, analog beim Part. Präs., das die gleiche Form hatte, das *-de* weggelassen wurde.

Das Zunehmen der Fälle, in denen das Part. Präs. in der Form des Inf. erscheint, hält Schritt mit dem Fallenlassen der Endung beim Inf.; denn der unflektierte Inf. wird im Vergleich zum flektierten häufiger and deutet auf den beginnenden Abfall der Endungen. Davon zeugen gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts auch einzelne Beispiele von nominalen Part. Präs. ohne die Endung *-de*.

Auffallend ist dagegen, daß der Dental der Endung im Auslaut, z. B. 3. Pers. Pl. Präs., noch ziemlich fest ist.

## D. 15. JAHRHUNDERT

### 1. POETISCHE WERKE

Eine Einzeluntersuchung der Fälle, in denen die Umschreibungen mit *werden* im 15. Jh. auftreten, dürfte für die Entwicklung von *werden* mit Inf. nichts Neues mehr bieten; es wird deshalb von der vollständigen Wiedergabe der Belege im allgemeinen Abstand genommen. Es handelt sich im wesentlichen nur noch darum, festzustellen, ob die Verdrängung des Part. Präs. durch den Inf. in der Futurumschreibung im ganzen alemannischen Gebiet etwa zu gleicher Zeit vor sich ging und wann der Vorgang seinen Abschluß gefunden hat.

HUGO VON MONTFORTS, des südschwäbischen Dichters, lyrische Erzeugnisse fallen zum Teil in das letzte Viertel des 14., zum Teil in das erste Viertel des 15. Jh.

Die Handschrift, eine nicht genaue Abschrift des Originals, ist nach 1414 entstanden. Wackernagel weist vier Schreiber nach.

*Werden* mit Part. Präs. gebraucht Hugo nicht.

Werden im Präs. mit Inf. steht: V, 272; XVI, 62; XXVIII, 189, 390; XXIX, 82, 148; XXXVIII, 92, 108, 112.

Im Prät. steht die Form: XXVII, 228; XXVIII, 499.

Das Part. Präs. steht bei *sein* XV, 137; XXXI, 137; XXXIX, 41.

Bezeichnend ist die Infinitivform V, 229: *ir churfursten, ir sigint tod oder leben* (:begeben); das dem Adj. *tod* nebengeordnete *leben* ist zweifellos Part. und auch als solches empfunden. Noch an einigen andern Stellen läßt Hugo die partizipiale Endung fehlen, wo sein Reim es erfordert:

XXXI, 173. Zehen lieder hân ich gemachen  
als sie hie geschriben stân,  
etlichs frölich und och lachen.

XXXI, 180. es hât ein ander getân frölich  
und och lachen. (: gemachen).

Der Inf. ist bei Hugo unflektiert. Nur in wenigen Fällen, wo der Reim es verlangt, wendet er den flektierten Inf. an und zwar mit partizipialer Endung, so XIII, 31 *ze nend* = *nemende* (:wend); wo er einen Reim braucht zu *wernde*, gebraucht er regelmäßig den flektierten Inf. *bernde*, ob er grammatisch berechtigt ist oder nicht:

XXVIII, 448. all selikeit tuot uss im ze bernde.  
(:iemer wernde).

XXVIII, 680. das mine werch mir gnade tuegint bernde.  
(:iemer wernde).

XXX, 49. all selikeit tuot uss dir bernde.  
(:ewig wernde).

Da Hugo den Wortformen Gewalt antut, indem er sie dem Reim unterordnet, kann seine Sprache nicht eigentlich als beweiskräftig gelten. Man beachte nur die Formen für den reinen Inf., wie sie Wackernagel CLXXVI zusammenstellt; neben der Endung *-en* findet sich bei entsprechendem Reim Inf. ohne *-n*, auch zusammengesetzte Infinitive, wie VII, 13 *nen* = *nemen* (:alten), VIII, 13 *kon* = *komen* (:lôn).

Daß der Gebrauch von *werden*, wie ihn Montforts Gedichte zeigen, auch in dem Gebiet der östlichen Schweiz um die Wende des Jahrhunderts der übliche war, wird wahrscheinlich gemacht durch ein kleines Werk aus der gleichen Zeit, das nur in einer Handschrift vorliegt: die *Reimchronik des Appenzellerkrieges*.

Sie ist von einem Augenzeugen verfaßt und bis zum Jahre 1505 fortgesetzt. Die Mundart ist allerdings, wie der Herausgeber betont, teils schweizerisch (st. gallisch) teils schwäbisch.

*Werden* wird immer mit dem Inf., nie mit dem Part. Präs. gebraucht. Im Präs. steht die Verbindung nur 3mal: 22,19; 171,15; 198,21. Auffallend ist der häufige Gebrauch im Prät.; solcher Fälle finden sich gegen 70. Naturgemäß ist das Werk als Beschreibung vergangener Tatsachen vornehmlich in den Zeiten der Vergangenheit verfaßt und hat wenig Verwertung für das Futurum; der häufige Gebrauch von *wart* mit Inf. gegenüber *wirt* mit Inf. fällt daher nicht ins Gewicht. Aber *wart* mit Inf. wird nicht nur als Ausdruck der inchoativen Aktionsart verwendet, sondern vertritt in vielen Fällen das einfache Prät.; der Herausgeber gibt die Umschreibung in seinen Anmerkungen immer durch *tal* mit Inf. wieder.

Für *sein* mit Inf. oder Part. finden sich keine Belege.

Die Infinitive sind unflektiert.

*Des Teufels Netz*, ein Gedicht von fast 13,700 Versen, das in der Umgebung des Bodensees entstanden ist und in drei Handschriften aus der Mitte des Jahrhunderts vorliegt, zeigt ganz modernen Gebrauch der Umschreibungen mit *werden*. Das Part. Präs. kommt nicht mehr vor; *werden* mit Inf. als Umschreibung der Zukunft ist durchaus üblich. 9792 steht *werden* selbst im Fut.: *das in iemer wirt werden lait*.

Im Prät. bleibt die Umschreibung auf den Konj. beschränkt und entspricht dem modernen Konditionalis.

Während der Verlust der partizipialen Endung in den Umschreibungen mit *werden* durchaus stattgefunden hat, zeigt sich scheinbar Unsicherheit in der Verbindung mit *sein*. Allerdings finden sich nur zwei Belege: 201 *Wes du mich fragend bist*. 818 *Je mehr du bi ir slauffen bist*. In beiden Fällen ist das Präsens umschrieben.

Der Inf. ist selten flektiert und hat dann die partizipiale Endung, so 1175; 1821; 7928; 8157; 9725. Analog diesen Formen findet sich das an *-en* angehängte *-d* auch an Substantiven; 7371 *mit gaben und mit erend*; 13567 *almuosends*.

Manchmal ordnet der Verfasser, ähnlich wie Hugo von Montfort, seine Formen dem Reim unter; z. B.:

12670. das ze jungst ain sak wirt ir genosz,  
Darin man si denn wirt stosz.

11133. Das schaff daz die würm also stozzen  
Daz es wirt nakent und blossen.

Das *t(d)* der Endung der 3. Pers. Pl. Ind. ist noch nicht durchweg geschwunden.

Die Dichtungen des Straßburgers MEISTER ALTSWERT aus der Mitte des Jahrhunderts zeigen den vollen Verlust der Endungen.

*Wirt* steht nie mit dem Part. Präs., sondern immer mit dem Inf. *Wart* mit Part. oder Inf. kommt nicht vor.

Die Infinitive sind durchweg unflektiert; nur 2mal findet sich die Flexion *-ende*: 41,25 und 53,19.

Das *Neujahrsspiel*, Mone II, 16, Mitte oder zweite Hälfte des 15. Jh., enthält nur *werden* mit Inf. Der Text hat viele Korrekturen und ist nach Mones Ansicht vielleicht die Urschrift des Verfassers.

*Werden* im Präs. mit Inf. steht: 1,33; 4,87,90; 6,13,49; 8,41; 10,11,43; im Prät. Konj. 7,88; 9,14; 10,6.

Die Infinitive sind unflektiert.

*Der jüngste Tag*, Mone I, 11, aus dem Jahre 1467, schwäbisch, enthält *werden* im Präs. mit Inf. 357,31.

Die wenigen Infinitive sind unflektiert.

Die *Grablegung Christi* von MATTHIAS GUNDELFINGER, einem Schwaben, Mone II, 14, ist wahrscheinlich Originalhandschrift aus dem Jahre 1494. Sie enthält nur *werden* mit Inf., und zwar nur im Präs.: 1,62; 6,12; 7,53,74,79; 8,42.

Die wenigen vorkommenden Infinitive zeigen keine Flexion.

SEBASTIAN BRANT hat die Texte seiner Werke höchst sorgfältig korrigiert; sie geben uns daher ein genaues Zeugnis des Dialektes seiner Vaterstadt Straßburg.

Im *Narrenschiff*, das dem letzten Jahrzehnt des Jahrhunderts entstammt, gebraucht Brant mit einer Ausnahme nur *werden* mit Inf.; 103,149 steht *werden* selbst im Futurum: *würt werden*. Das

Part. Präs. steht nach *werden* einzig 22,32; im Zusammenhang lautet die Stelle:

Die plag wurt vber narren gan  
 Sie werdent wiszheit sehen an  
 Und den lon der drumb ist bereit  
 Und werend wurt in ewikeit.

*Werend* für *weren* nach den beiden voraufgehenden Infinitiven ist eben die ältere Form, die Brant neben der eingedrungenen neuen entschlüpft ist. Seine Sprache zeigt auch in der Endung der 3. Pers. Pl. keine Konsequenz; die Form findet sich mit und ohne *-t*. Ebenso stehen öfter die alten Formen *ieman* (jemen), *nieman* neben den neuen *iemant* und *niemant*.

*Wart* mit Inf. steht 83,40 in inchoativer Bedeutung. Sonst beschränkt sich Brant im Gebrauch des Prät. von *werden* mit Inf. auf den Konjunktiv; die Formen entsprechen dem modernen Konditionalis.

Altertümlich wirken die Part. Präs. bei *sein* 38,45; 39,32; 106,12, wo die Partizipien nicht adjektivisch sind, sondern in der Umschreibung das einfache Verb vertreten. 46,15 steht ein scheinbarer Inf. bei *sein*: *Wer aber wisszlich wandeln ist*; obige Beispiele lassen aber darauf schließen, daß die Form für *wandelnd* steht.

Auch in andern Fällen läßt Brant die Endung des Part. Präs. abfallen, so 95,38:

Ein teil stont schwätzen uff der gassen  
 Die andern sitzen spielen, prassen.

Daß hier das Partizipium und nicht der Infinitiv gemeint ist, unterliegt wohl keinem Zweifel. Anscheinend besteht also bei Brant doch noch eine gewisse Unsicherheit im Gebrauch der Formen des Part. Präs. und des Inf., die in der östlichen Schweiz etwa schon ein Jahrhundert früher überwunden war. Sie deutet auf eine langsamere oder erst später eingetretene Entwicklung im Elsaß.

## 2. PROSAWERKE

Obige Ansicht wird bestätigt durch die Prosawerke.

JACOB TWINGER VON KÖNIGSHOFEN verfaßte die *Chronik der Stadt Straßburg* in den Jahren 1382-1415. Dem Text, herausgegeben von der historischen Commission der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, liegt die Originalhandschrift C zugrunde. Im Folgenden sind Kap. I und II, S. 230-498, des sehr umfangreichen Werkes auf den Gebrauch der Umschreibungen mit *werden* untersucht.

*Werden* erscheint sowohl im Präs. als auch im Prät. und ist in beiden Formen sowohl mit dem Part. Präs. als auch mit dem Inf. verbunden; das erstere überwiegt im Verhältnis von etwa 13:10. Zu bemerken ist, daß das Prät. fast ausschließlich mit dem Part., das Präs. dagegen vorwiegend mit dem Inf. steht. Folgende Stelle möge Erwähnung finden: 307,6 *bi dem gebogen stabe merke ich, das sich die gewaltigsten künige vor mir biegender werdent; bi dem syneweln ballen, das ich wurde besitzende die synewelkeit dirre welle; bi der gülden kannen merke ich, das ich wurde gesigen und zinse enphohen von allen lüten.* Part. Präs. und Inf. hängen hier in gleicher Bedeutung von *werden* ab; beide Formen dienen dem Ausdruck der Zukunft.

Der flektierte Inf. zeigt durchweg die Endung *-ende*; nur einmal steht die regelmäßige Form: *zû nemene* 317,6. Selten ist der Inf. unflektiert.

Die Form *zwüschent* für *zwischen* (*zwischen*) erscheint fast ausschließlich. In der 3. Pers. Pl. wiegt die Endung *-ent* noch vor. Dagegen ist auffallend *gegene* für *gehende*, das einige Male gebraucht wird, so 241,7; 249,11; 273,2. Einmal fehlt bei hundert das *t*: 244,14.

Die *Predigtmärlein*, Germ. III, 407-444, von Pfeiffer nach einer ursprünglich dem Kloster zu Straßburg gehörigen Handschrift veröffentlicht, entstammen dem 15. Jh. Nähere Datierung gibt Pfeiffer nicht. Die Handschrift ist im Kloster selbst geschrieben; die Mundart ist straßburgisch.



*Werden* wird sowohl im Präs. als auch im Prät. mit dem Part. Präs. gebraucht. Die Erzählung bewegt sich in der Vergangenheit, es überwiegen daher die Fälle mit dem Prät.; das Verhältnis ist 5:2.

*Werden* mit Inf. findet sich nicht; die Märlein sind jedenfalls nach alten Quellen bearbeitet, in denen *werden* mit Part. Präs. noch ausschließlich herrschte.

Auch die Tatsache, daß die Infinitive fast immer flektiert sind, deutet auf ältere Formen; die Flektion ist vorwiegend partizipial. Fälle mit regelmäßiger Endung finden sich 417,14; 418,34; 425,38.

In der Form *zwüschent* (*zwuschent*) 413,29; 417,12; 434,10; 439,36 folgen die Predigtmärlein ganz dem Gebrauch Twingers und der älteren elsässischen Denkmäler. Auch die Form *nebent* steht 412,9. Wie bei Twinger fehlt *d* in *gegene* 435,29. Außergewöhnlich ist die Konstruktion *geriet zürnende* 421,34; hier schwebte wohl *wart zürnende* vor; ebenso *geriet in slafende* 417,2.

Im zweiten Viertel des Jahrhunderts ist das *Goldene Spiel* entstanden, das nach der 1450 vollendeten Gießener Handschrift von Schröder veröffentlicht ist. Der Dialekt ist schwäbisch und eignet der Stadt Augsburg.

Der Verfasser gebraucht in reinen Futurumschreibungen mit *werden* nur den Inf. Sehr hübsch ist das Nebeneinander von *werden* mit Inf. und *werden* mit Part. Präs. 84,5: *Er sprach das ein prunn ist in Arabia, des wassers mag nieman haben den mit saytenspil, wenn man das treybt ob dem prunnen, so gat das wasser übersich auf und wirt über fliessen. Das ist der götlich prunn der parmertzikayt, der wirt über fliessend wen man dar auf wol spill und singt in den siben sayten des haylgen pater noster.* Im ersten Falle, wo die Vorstellung das Wasser in Bewegung sieht, ist die Verbindung mehr verbal und futurisch; im zweiten Falle aber, wo *prunn* Subjekt ist, soll das Part. bei *werden* den Zustand ausdrücken und ist daher nominal zu fassen.

Die Infinitive sind unflektiert; im nordöstlichen Winkel des alemannischen Gebietes hat also der Verlust der Endungen stattgefunden. Aber die 3. Pers. Pl. hat noch sehr häufig den Dental

am Ende; dieser Prozeß scheint erst später seinen Abschluß gefunden zu haben.

STEINHÖWELS *Aesop* ist zuerst von Zeiner zu Ulm etwa zwischen 1475 und 1480 gedruckt worden. Lit. V. 117 enthält den von Oesterley besorgten Abdruck. Paul II, 344 sagt von Steinhöwel, daß er unter den schwäbischen Humanisten das beste Deutsch geschrieben habe; es ist mithin auch anzunehmen, daß seine Verdeutschung des *Aesop* auf der Höhe der Zeit stand.

*Werden* steht sowohl im Präs. als im Prät. mit dem Inf. Nur 74,11 steht einmal das Part. Präs. neben dem Inf. als Ergänzung zu *ward*: *Do aber die mus merket, daz sie sterben wurde von dem frosch, ward sie schryend und klagen.* Der lateinische Text hat nur *clamabat*.

53,26 fehlt die partizipiale Endung versehentlich: *Von stuond an ward sie von bitterkeit der gallen erzürnet und schryen und rüffend lief sie in das hus.* Der lateinische Text *clamitans ac vociferans* läßt keinen Zweifel darüber, daß *schryen* nicht zu *ward* gehört, was auch dem Sinn nicht gut entspräche.

*Ward* mit Inf. gibt oft *coepi* wieder. Die alten Übersetzer gebrauchten dafür häufig *beginnen* mit Inf.; aber *beginnen* wird zu Steinhöwels Zeit schon vorwiegend mit *zu* konstruiert.

Im allgemeinen fällt bei Steinhöwel der ziemlich häufige undeutsche Gebrauch des Part. Präs. auf, selbst da, wo der lateinische Text nicht unmittelbar darauf hinweist. Dies mag doch wohl auf lateinische Gepflogenheit zurückzuführen sein.

Der Inf. erscheint fast durchweg ohne Endung. Nur vereinzelt findet sich der flektierte Inf., und zwar mit partizipialer Endung *-d*, vornehmlich in *ze tuond*, wie 49,5; 64,29; 121,24.

### 3. ÜBERSICHT

Die Denkmäler aus dem östlichen alemannischen Gebiet, vornehmlich die aus der Gegend des Bodensees, kennen schon am Anfang des Jahrhunderts *werden* mit Part. Präs. nicht mehr; sie weisen im Verlauf des Jahrhunderts übereinstimmend nur noch *werden* mit Inf. auf.

Dagegen überwiegt in den frühen Schriften des Elsasses noch *werden* mit Part. Präs. Erst um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts herrscht hier der gleiche Gebrauch wie in den Werken Schwabens und der Schweiz fünfzig Jahre früher. Wir begegnen mithin der auffallenden Tatsache, daß gerade das Gebiet des Elsasses, wo mitteldeutscher Einfluß anzunehmen wäre und auch sonst nachgewiesen ist, eine spätere Entwicklung der Futurumschreibung zeigt als das vom Mitteldeutschen isolierte Gebiet des Bodensees. Die Verdrängung der Umschreibung *werden* mit Part. Präs. durch *werden* mit Inf. ist also ein Vordringen von Osten nach Westen, nicht von Norden nach Süden. Der eigentliche Vorgang fällt etwa in die Zeit von 1375-1450. In allen Werken vor dieser Zeit tritt *werden* mit Inf. gegenüber *werden* mit Part. Präs. nur vereinzelt auf; dagegen findet sich nach 1450 *werden* mit Part. Präs. in nicht nominaler Anwendung nur selten.

Das Auftreten von *wirt werden* ist ein untrügliches Zeichen, daß der Form *wirt* die ursprünglich futurische Kraft verloren gegangen ist; sie ist nicht mehr befähigt, ohne den ergänzenden Inf. die Zukunft auszudrücken.

Etwa gleichzeitig mit der Verdrängung des Part. Präs. nach *werden* durch den Inf. schwindet die Flektion beim Inf. Auch hier ist eine langsamere Entwicklung im Elsaß zu beobachten.

## III

## ERGEBNISSE

Da am Ende der einzelnen Kapitel die Ergebnisse der jeweiligen Untersuchung zusammengefaßt worden sind, ist eine eingehende Rekapitulation nicht vonnöten. Es genüge, folgende Punkte hervorzuheben:

1. *Werden* als Vollverb und als Kopula tritt im ganzen germanischen Gebiet auf. In diesen Funktionen gibt es häufig das Futurum von *sein* wieder.

2. Mit dem Part. Prät. transitiver Verben dient es zur Bildung des Passivs gleichfalls in allen Dialekten. In präsentischer Form drückt die Verbindung im Beginn der althochdeutschen Periode ausschließlich die Zukunft aus. Am Ende dieses Zeitabschnittes ist sie gleichzeitig ein geläufiges Mittel der Präsensumschreibung, in der die eigentliche Bedeutung von *werden* verloren gegangen ist.

3. Die Umschreibung aktiver Zeitformen durch *werden* mit dem Part. Prät. intransitiver Verben kennen alle Dialekte mit Ausnahme des Gotischen. Die Verbindung entwickelt vereinzelt futurische Bedeutung. Im Althochdeutschen ist sie selten und stirbt früh aus.

4. In allen Dialekten außer dem Altnordischen finden sich spärliche Beispiele der Umschreibung *werden* mit Part. Präs. Die mit *werden* verbundenen Partizipien haben mehr oder weniger adjektivische, nicht rein verbale Bedeutung.

5. *Werden* mit Inf. ist im Altnordischen belegt; die Verbindung kommt aber der neuhochdeutschen Futurumschreibung nicht gleich. Im Althochdeutschen findet sich nur ein einziger, überdies recht zweifelhafter Beleg für diese Paraphrase; in den andern Dialekten fehlt sie.

6. *Werden* mit Inf. als Futurumschreibung ist eine einzelsprachliche Neubildung im Hochdeutschen; ihre Entwicklung fällt in die mittelhochdeutsche Periode.

7. Das Alemannische des 12. Jh. bietet nur Belege für *werden* mit Part. Präs. Die Verbindung kommt 20mal vor, 7mal in präsentischer Form. Alle mit *werden* verbundenen Partizipien gehören imperfektiven Verben an.

*Werden* mit Inf. ist nicht belegt.

8. Im 13. Jh. finden sich 275 Beispiele für *werden* mit Part. Präs., von denen 198 auf das Präs., 77 auf das Prät. entfallen. Die Partizipien gehören sowohl zu perfektiven als zu imperfektiven Verben. Die Bedeutung der Umschreibung im Präsens ist fast durchweg futurisch.

*Werden* mit Inf. ist 14mal belegt, davon 13mal in präsentischer Form. Die Verbindung findet sich fast nur in ungenauen oder späten Handschriften. Das Verhältnis der beiden Umschreibungen zu einander ist also etwa 20:1.

Ein Abfall der Partizipialendung *-de* ist im Alemannischen des 13. Jh. nicht festzustellen. Dagegen ist die Vermischung der Form des Part. Präs. mit der Form des flektierten Inf. ganz augenfällig; sie macht sich vorzüglich in dem Eindringen der Endung *-ende* in den Dat. Inf. bemerkbar. Da der Dat. Inf. gelegentlich auch ohne Flektion gebraucht wurde, so mag die Infinitivform nach *werden* dadurch entstanden sein, daß analog auch beim Part. Präs. die Endung *-de* weggelassen wurde.

9. Im 14. Jh. bleibt *werden* mit Part. Präs. noch die geläufigere Verbindung; von 412 Belegen der Umschreibungen mit *werden* entfallen 341 auf diese Paraphrase, in denen *werden* 257mal im Präs., 84mal im Prät. steht. Für *werden* mit Inf. finden sich 71 Belege (incl. 22 zweifelhaften Alters), in denen *werden* nur 7mal im Prät. gebraucht ist. Das Verhältnis der beiden Umschreibungen verschiebt sich mithin zu etwa 5:1 (bezw. 7:1).

Die Vermischung der Form des Part. Präs. mit der des flektierten Dat. Inf. ist noch deutlicher als im vorhergehenden Jahrhundert. Analog dem Zunehmen der Infinitivform nach *werden* mehren sich die Fälle, in denen der Inf. unflektiert erscheint. Da sich gegen Ende der Periode auch Beispiele von nominalen Partizipien ohne die Endung *-de* finden, so hat der Abfall der Endungen anscheinend eingesetzt.

10. Im 15. Jh. nimmt der Gebrauch von *werden* mit Inf. schnell zu. Die eigentliche Verdrängung von *werden* mit Part. Präs. durch diese Umschreibung fällt ungefähr in den Zeitraum von 1375-1450. Sie ist langsamer im Elsaß als im östlichen Alemannien; der Vorgang ist mithin ein Vordringen von Osten nach Westen.

Zum Schluß möge eine Beobachtung mitgeteilt werden, die sich bei der Prüfung des Materials für diese Arbeit aufdrängte und die im Widerspruch steht mit der oben erwähnten Ansicht Wilmanns', der auch Aron<sup>56</sup> beistimmt, daß die Entwicklung von *werden* mit Inf. durch die Anlehnung an solche Verben entstanden sei, die wie ahd. *biginnan*, *gistantan* den Eintritt in die Handlung bezeichnen und mit dem Inf. verbunden wurden.

*Biginnan* tritt wesentlich häufiger in der Poesie auf, als in der Prosa, vornehmlich in den Epen. Da sich die epische Handlung hauptsächlich in der Vergangenheit bewegt, so findet sich *biginnan* mit Inf. in präsentischer Form nur selten, außerordentlich oft aber im Prät.<sup>57</sup> *Werdan* mit Inf. zeigt hingegen den entgegengesetzten Gebrauch. Die Verbindung ist der poetischen Sprache weniger geläufig als der Prosa und wird von Anfang an viel häufiger im Präs. gebraucht, als im Prät.<sup>58</sup> Da aber die Verbindung *wirt* mit Inf. nur ganz vereinzelt dem Ausdruck der inchoativen Aktionsart diene, *wart* mit Inf. dagegen fast nur diese Funktion ausübte, so wäre bei einer Anlehnung an die Verben, die den Eintritt in die Handlung bezeichnen, zu erwarten, daß *werdan* diese Anlehnung zunächst in den Vergangenheitsformen gesucht habe. In den Gegenwartsformen, in denen es viel häufiger auftrat, diene es dem Ausdruck der Zukunft, eine Funktion, die von derjenigen der Verben des Beginns wesentlich verschieden war.

<sup>56</sup> a. a. O. S. 30.

<sup>57</sup> *Der gute Gerhard*: *biginnan* im Prät. etwa 50mal, im Präs. 1mal.

*Welchchronik*: *biginnan* im Prät. 180mal, im Präs. 3mal.

*Tristan*: *biginnan* im Prät. 130mal, im Präs. 1mal.

*Partonopier und Meliur*: *biginnan* im Prät. 162mal, im Präs. 5mal.

*Trojanischer Krieg*: *biginnan* im Prät. 450mal, im Präs. 50mal.

<sup>58</sup> Vgl. Tabellen II und III. Hierdurch wird auch, soweit das Alem. in Betracht kommt, Wilmanns Behauptung III, 177 widerlegt, daß *werden* zunächst stärkere Neigung zum Inf. gezeigt habe, wenn es im Prät. als wenn es im Präs. stand.

TABELLE I\*

## 12. JAHRHUNDERT

Texte	Werden mit Part. Präs.			Werden mit Inf.		
	Präs. (Ind. Konj. Inf.)	Prät.		Präs. (Ind. Konj. Inf.)	Prät.	
		(Ind.)	(Konj.)		(Ind.)	(Konj.)
Meinloh.....			1			
Heinrich der Gleißner.....		2				
Hartmann von Aue.....		3	1			
Ulrich von Zatzikhoven.....	1	1				
Speculum ecclesiae.....	3	5				
Altdeutsche Predigten.....	3					
	7	11	2			

\* In den Tabellen ist jedes *werden* mit einem oder mehreren Part. Präs. oder Inf. als ein Beleg gezählt. Da oft unterschiedliche (bis zu 6, vgl. Grieshabers Prediger I, 13,30) im selben Satzgefüge stehen, übersteigt die Zahl der tabulierten Belege z. T. beträchtlich die der Stellenangaben im Text.

Der Konj. des Prät. ist von dem Ind. geschieden, weil er seine präteritale Bedeutung verloren und futurische bzw. präsentische angenommen hat. Die betr. Belege sind daher (wo kein *nominales* Part. steht) dem Sinne nach größtenteils Futurumschreibungen wie die in der ersten Spalte (*werden* im Präs.).

Texte, in denen keinerlei Belege gefunden wurden, sind in den Tabellen nicht erwähnt.

TABELLE II  
13. JAHRHUNDERT

Texte	Werden mit Part. Präs.			Werden mit Inf.		
	Präs. (Ind. Konj. Inf.)	Prät.		Präs. (Ind. Konj. Inf.)	Prät.	
		(Ind.)	(Konj.)		(Ind.)	(Konj.)
Gottfrieds Tristan.....	6	10				
Konrad Flecks Flore..... (NB. Hss. 15. Jh.)				3		
Rudolfs von Ems Weltchro- nik.....	11	2		1		
Freidanks Bescheidenheit.....	1					
Mariengröße.....				1		
Konrad von Würzburg:						
Partonopier.....	4	4		4		
(NB. Hs. 15. Jh.)						
Trojanischer Krieg.....	13	13	5	2	1	
(NB. Hss. 14. u. 15. Jh.)						
Hugo von Langensteins						
Martina.....	5	1				
David von Augsburg.....	9					
Grieshabers Prediger.....	127	37	1	2		
Schwabenspiegel.....	5					
St. Georger Predigten.....	9	1				
Passion des Matthäus.....	7					
Predigt auf Johannes den Täufer.....		1				
Predigtbruchstücke.....	1					
Hugo von Constanz.....		2				
	198	71	6	13	1	



TABELLE III

## 14. JAHRHUNDERT

Texte	Werden mit Part. Präs.			Werden mit Inf.		
	Präs. (Ind. Konj. Inf.)	Prät.		Präs. (Ind. Konj. Inf.)	Prät.	
		(Ind.)	(Konj.)		(Ind.)	(Konj.)
Walther von Rheinau.....	39 (44)	1	7	12 (7)		
Boner.....	1	1		1	1	
Der Maget Krone.....				3	2	1
Sibyllen Weissagung (15.Jh.?)				22		
Meister Eckhart.....	3	2		1		1
Nicolaus von Straßburg.....	18	1	3	3		
Tauler.....	18	1		1		
Seuse.....	49	35	2	2		
Rulman Merswin.....	53	3	8	4		1
Legenda Aurea.....	35	9	3	3		
Elsässische Predigten.....	11	6		2	1	
Altdeutsche Predigten.....	28	2		7		
Predigtbruchstücke.....	1					
Straßburger Hs.....	1			3		
	257 (262)	61	23	64 (59)	4	3

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**FROM ST. ANTONY TO ST. GUTHLAC**

**A STUDY IN BIOGRAPHY**

BY

**BENJAMIN P. KURTZ**

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN MODERN PHILOLOGY**

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# FROM ST. ANTONY TO ST. GUTHLAC

## A STUDY IN BIOGRAPHY

BY  
BENJAMIN P. KURTZ

Between ca. 720 and 749, perhaps at the very time the *Beowulf* was being composed,<sup>1</sup> and not far from the time when St. John of Damascus, in the East, was praising monastic life in a tale<sup>2</sup> modeled in part upon the *Vita Antonii* of Athanasius, a certain Felix in England wrote in Latin a life of St. Guthlac<sup>3</sup> which was later to be a source of a Cynewulfian poem on that saint. The parallels between this *Vita Guthlaci* and the Latin version of the *Antonius* by Evagrius<sup>4</sup> are so remarkable that it is surprising that hitherto they have not been pointed out in detail. Moreover, there is indubitable evidence of conscious copying. Felix borrows whole passages, word for word, from the Evagrian version, and in other passages is indebted to the same source for his sentence-patterns.

<sup>1</sup> Klaeber, *Beowulf* (1922), p. cxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Barlaam and Iosaph*, ed. and trans. by Woodward and Mattingly (London, 1914). See XII, 107; XXXVII, 340 ff.; XXXIX, 350 ff., 358; etc.; cf. *Vit. Ant.*, c. 5, 17 ff., 92, etc.

<sup>3</sup> W. de G. Birch, *Memorials of St. Guthlac* (Wisbech, 1881), a critical ed. of the text, with an account of the MSS; also, *Acta Sanctorum* (Boll., Paris ed.), 11 April, — from which I quote. For the A.-S. prose version, see P. Gosner, *Anglist. Forsch.*, XXVII (1909). Guthlac, according to Felix (V, 35), died in 715 (714), and the Life, written within 35 years of his death, was based upon information supplied by men who had known the saint (Prol., 2). For the various attempts to identify Felix, as well as for the date of the *Vita Guthlaci*, see Gosner, pp. 14-21.

<sup>4</sup> Evagrius, presbyter and later (388) bishop at Antioch, had completed his free Latin version of the *Bios 'Αρωτιου* by 374 (P. Schaff and H. Wace, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, New York, 1890+, ser. 2, IV, 189; hereafter referred to as *N. P. N.*); the text and the Greek original are in Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, XXVI. "Evagrius avowedly abridges at times, while in some cases he embellishes." In his preface he says: "A word-for-word translation from one language to another obscures the sense and as it were chokes the corn with luxuriant grass. For in slavishly following cases and constructions, the language scarcely explains by lengthy periphrasis what it might state by concise expression. To avoid this, I have at your request rendered the Life of the blessed Antony in such a way as to give the full sense, but cut short somewhat of the words. Let others try to catch syllables and letters; do you seek the meaning." (*N. P. N.*, p. 195, note 1). The omissions and expansions, however, do not affect the essential character of the *Bios*.

These relations and the larger parallels in plan, tone, and purpose will be pointed out in the order of their position in the two biographies.

But in the *Antonius* that order is complicated by the repetitions with which the Life abounds. There are three main parts to the work: the initial narrative (c. 1-15), Antony's sermon (c. 16-43), and the resumed narrative (c. 44-End). The sermon is full of autobiography, and in particular contains a recapitulation of the story, already given biographically in the first section, of the battles with the fiends. The third division repeats aspects both of the first and second parts. It is necessary, therefore, in giving references for some of the chief features of the *Antonius*, such for instance as the search for solitude or the encounters with demons, to collect passages from more than one of these three parts. In giving the chapter numbers in the following list of parallels, I have inserted semicolons between chapters that occur in different parts. The distribution of repetitions and amplifications is thus indicated to the eye.

In the course of this examination of the *Guthlacus*, occasion will also be taken to point out some borrowings from sources other than the *Antonius*, so that a more complete view of Felix's method of composition may be had.

1. *Prologue*.—In the *Antonius* the Prologue is of the epistolary sort common in later hagiography, elucidating the purpose and sources of the Life and the method of composing it. Felix, in a tumid and frigid style, in great part quite unlike the Latinity of Evagrius, also explains the cause, purpose, sources, and method of his work.<sup>5</sup> But two passages are borrowed directly from the Evagrian version of the Antonian Prologue:

<sup>5</sup> Gonser has already noted (*op. cit.*, p. 11) that a passage in the second paragraph is similar to one in the Prologue to Bede's *St. Cuthbert*. There is a corresponding and somewhat similar passage in Evagrius, beginning *Etenim mihi ingens* (Prol.), which also is copied, almost word for word, in the anonymous Lindisfarne *Cuthbert*, and thence into the *Wilfrid* of Eddius. H. Günter (*Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, in *Religionswiss. Bibliothek*, Heidelberg, 1910, II, 167) has pointed out that a sentence in the first paragraph of Felix's Prologue, *Reminiscentur quoque . . . praedicatam fuisse sciat*, is found in the Prologue to the *Vita Martini* of Sulpitius Severus and in Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I, 62. For another sentence in the same paragraph Felix acknowledges indebtedness to Jerome, and Günter (p. 223) supplies the reference to Jerome.

Quoniam igitur exegistis a me, ut vobis scriberem de conversatione beati Antonii, volentibus discere, quemadmodum coeperit, quive fuerit ante sanctum propositum, qualem etiam habuerit terminum vitae . . . . (Evagrius, Prol.).

Ergo ut breviter dicam, et omnibus, quae de eo referentium sermo jactavit, credite, et minima vos existimate audisse de maximis: quia non ambigo, nec eos omnia potuisse cognoscere, cum et ego rogatus a vobis, quantacumque per Epistolam significavero, non aequalia sim ejus meritis narraturus. Sed et vos, omnes hinc navigantes studiose percontamini, quo singulis quae norunt referentibus, congrua dignaque tanti nominis relatio compleatur (Evagrius, Prol.).

Quoniam igitur exegisti a me, ut de vita S. Guthlaci vel conversatione tibi scriberem; quemadmodum coeperit, quidve ante propositum fuerit, vel qualem vitae terminum habuerit . . . . (Felix, Prol. 2).

Ergo quantacumque de vitae ipsius orthonomia stylo perstrinxero, minima de magnis, pauca de plurimis audisse aestimate. Non enim ambigo illos dictatores non omnia facta illius potuisse cognoscere, nec ab illis tota dictata me descripsisse glorifico. Sed ut tanti viri tantique nominis relatio compleatur, prout ubique miracula ipsius fulserunt percunctamini, ut referentibus singulis quae novere percunctantibus, sequentis libelli materia adgregetur (Felix, Prol., 2, 3).

2. *Youth and religious vocation of the saint.*—Antony, a young man inclined to piety and reflection on the meaning of life, believes he is called to forsake the world and turn religious. The setting and circumstances of the vocation are given (c. 1-3). Felix, after enumerating the prodigies that at birth presaged the sanctity of Guthlac, for which there are no analogues in the *Antonius*, describes at length the rearing of the child, his obedient and sober disposition, and his virtuous manners. In spite of the prolixity of the style one is reminded of the picture of the young Antony. Having followed the profession of arms for nine years,<sup>6</sup> Guthlac, like the young Copt, falling into cogitation on the vanity of a worldly life, determined to forsake earthly for heavenly treasures. As in the *Antony*, the setting and the details of the vocation are described at length; and in both lives verses of Scripture play an important part at this point.

3. *The virtues of the youthful novice.*—For Antony (c. 1-4), there were as yet no monasteries whither he might retreat from

<sup>6</sup> Antony, on the contrary, lived the life of a plain man at home.

the world, but after his vocation he began at once to imitate the life of an ancient hermit in a neighboring village and to seek the company of men renowned for piety. Guthlac went at once to the monastery at Repton and there he received the tonsure. Guthlac was a student. Antony was unlettered, but his diligent memory of what he heard served him in place of books. Felix recites the virtues of the novices, and then from Evagrius he borrows pattern and details for his account of how Guthlac studied, and strove to imitate the virtues of his fellows:

Proprias singulorum gratias hauriebat: hujus continentiam, jucunditatem illius sectabatur; istius lenitatem, illius vigiliis, alterius legendi aemulabatur industriam; istum jejunantem, illum humi quiescentem mirabatur; alterius patientiam, alterius mansuetudinem praedicabat, omnium quoque vicariam erga se retinens charitatem . . . omnium in se bona nitebatur exprimere (Evagrius, 4).

Proprias singulorum secum cohabitantium virtutes imitari studebat. Illius enim obedientiam, istius humilitatem; illius patientiam, alterius longanimitatem; illorum abstinentiam utriusque sinceritatem, omnium temperantiam, cunctorum suavitatem; et, ut brevius dicam, omnium in omnibus imitabatur virtutes (Felix, I, 13).

4. *The search for solitude.*—Antony's search consisted of several retirements, each to a remoter seclusion (c. 3, 8, 11, 12; 49). Guthlac, when he had been a clerk for two years, read one day of the solitary life of the first monks.<sup>7</sup> Forthwith he decided

<sup>7</sup> Dum enim viscorum monachorum solitariam vitam legebat, tamen illuminatus in coenae gremio avida mente eremum quaerere fervebat (II, 14)—an interesting testimony to Guthlac's and Felix's reading. The latter's reading of the *solitaria vita* was, as the extracts prove, the *Antonius*, nor does reason or fact impair the supposition that Guthlac's reading was of the same solitary. Long before Guthlac died (715), the *Vit. Ant.*, in all probability, had made its way into many religious houses in England. With the exception of Alcuin's 'catalogue' of the York Library, in which the works of Athanasius, reputed author of the *Antonius*, are mentioned (*De pontif. et sanct. eccles. Eborac. carmen*, 1, 1541), we have no really satisfactory information concerning the contents of pre-Norman libraries. There is no record of an Augustinian, Gregorian, Theodorean, or Hadrianian *Antonius*, though there can be little doubt that Theodore and Hadrian possessed the work (see the early booklists and comments thereon in M. R. James's *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge Univ. Press: 1903, pp. xxi-xxix, lxiii-lxxi). From another source, however, comes definite information that the *Vita Ant.* was known in England in the second half of the seventh century. Aldhelm (d. 709), in chapter 28 of his prose tractate, *De Laudibus Virginitatis* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXXXIX, Col. 126), referring briefly (17 lines) to Antony, mentions the Athanasian Life and the Evagrian



to become a hermit. His first retreat was to the fen lands of East Anglia. Hearing, from a certain Tatwin, of a most unfrequented island in the very middle of the marshes, called Cruwland (Cruland, Crugland, Crowland, Croyland) and noted as a resort of demons, he at once vowed he would find the place and live there the rest of his life.<sup>8</sup>

5. *Discipline and tranquility.*—Antony practiced and recommended a discipline involving solitude, sleeplessness, and conquest of lust, continual prayer, meditation, and fasting, poverty and contempt of money and vainglory, pious rivalry in humility, and quietness, and freedom from anger (c. 3, 4, 5, 7, 14, *et passim*). But his asceticism was not characterized by extreme austerity. The purpose of his discipline was to attain not an insensibility to physical suffering, but a certain spiritual grace and serenity, a "*heitere Stille der Seele*," far removed from worldly sorrow and pleasure, from laughter and dejection. His temper, as Newman says, was "heavenly,—without cowardice, without gloom, without

version as his sources: quod plenus de ejus [Antonii] virtute miraculorum Athanasius, Alexandrinus antistes, simplo volumine patefecit, Evagrio in Latinum transferente. In the metrical version of his tract, Aldhelm inserts a slightly more detailed account of Antony's virtues and an indefinite reference to the *Vita* (Migne, 251-252,—23 lines). To be sure these two works were written after Aldhelm's return from Rome, but there is nothing to indicate that his acquaintance with the *Antonius* was made while he was abroad. Since, in all probability, he had it before him when he composed the Tractate, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was accessible to his Repton neighbor and contemporary, Guthlac. In view of the probability that Felix modeled his Latin style, with its Grecisms and pomposities, upon the barbarous turgidity of Aldhelm's manner, and that he may very well have come under the personal influence of Aldhelm, this testimony to the latter's knowledge of the *Antonius* is particularly interesting. But there is no evidence that Felix made use of either of Aldhelm's accounts of Antony.

<sup>8</sup> Nullus hanc [*sc. eremum*] ante famulum Christi Guthlacum solus habitare colonus valebat, propter videlicet illic demorantium daemonum phantasias (II, 14). Deinde [*sc. veri Dei miles*] praecinctus spiritalibus armis adversus terrissimi hostis insidias, scutum fidei, loricae spei, galeam castitatis, arcum patientiae, sagittas psalmodiae, sese in acie firmans, arripuit (II, 15). In these passages Felix has copied a sentence in Bede's *Cuthbert*, as Gosner has already pointed out, though he has not given the original of the second passage. The sentence in *Cuthbert* follows: Nullus hanc facile ante famulum Domini Cuthbertum solus valebat inhabitare colonus, propter videlicet demorantium ibi phantasias daemonum: verum intrante eam milite Christi, armato galea salutis, scuto fidei et gladio spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, omnia tela nequissimi ignea extincta, et ipse nequissimus cum omni satellitum suorum turba porro fugatus est hostis (VI, 28, *Acta Sanct.*, *Boll.*, 20 March). The arming of the Christian soldier, however, is a stock 'property' in the lives of the hermits, being drawn from *Ephesians* VI, 13-17.

formality, without self-complacency, . . . being full of holy confidence, divine peace, cheerfulness and valourousness." "He was tolerant in disposition and humble in spirit," says Athanasius.

His countenance had a great and wonderful grace. For if he were present in a great company of monks, and anyone who had not known him previously, wished to see him, immediately coming forward he passed by the rest, and hurried to Antony, as though attracted by his appearance. Yet neither in height nor breadth was he conspicuous above the others, but in the serenity of his manner and the purity of his soul. For his soul was free from disturbances, his outward appearance was calm . . . He was never downcast, for his mind was joyous (c. 67).

Guthlac's asceticism, in its details, is modeled upon that of Antony, but, what is more important, the English hermit, like the Egyptian, distrusts extreme discipline. Twice in his sermon Antony warns his hearers against the devils who, feigning the speech of holy men, tempt monks to protract their vigils and fasts (c. 25, 27). Two such devils, so disguised, visit Guthlac (II, 18) and attempt to persuade him to fast six days at a time. Significant of the spiritual relationship of our two texts is the fact that much of the Antonian sobriety in discipline, quiet enjoyment of the simpler aspects of nature, and peacefulness of soul has passed over into the life of the English Guthlac after some four centuries of a far less temperate asceticism have intervened.

6. *Assaults of the demons*.—Great is the number of the evil spirits in the air around us, Antony tells his followers,<sup>9</sup> and one

<sup>9</sup>C. 21. The Scriptural basis of the belief is to be found in Ephesians II, 2; VI, 11-16, passages to which Athanasius refers in the account of the devil and his minions included in his *On the Incarnation of the Word* (c. 25, 47, 48). He there explains that the devils are fallen spirits, that they wander about in the earth's atmosphere seeking to do ill to men, especially Christians, that their method is to produce illusions (so that the things they make men see and hear are not realities but only deceitful displays, incapable of effecting physical harm), that formerly they deceived men's fancies at will (oracles, spirits of mountain and stream), and that Christ by His death in the devil-filled air, for He was uplifted on the Cross, so destroyed their malignant power that men now by the sign of the Cross can rid themselves of the devilish illusions. With every detail of this account Antony's sermon on the nature of the demons is in complete agreement (c. 21-33); and so, too, is the previous narrative of Antony's adventures with the fiends (c. 5-13), with one exception, viz., that the devils attacked him at the tombs and did him such bodily harm that with the pain of it he became unconscious for twenty-four hours (c. 8). The writer of the *Vita* is at such pains at the close of every other scene of the persecution and at every step of the sermon to insist upon views identical with those in the *Incarnation of the Word*, that it

must be specially gifted of the Holy Spirit to distinguish their varieties and know how to deal with each. As one having had more than sufficient experience, and, we may add, the questionable gift of susceptibility, Antony proceeds to categorize the devils. The categories correspond, loosely, to the principal faults against which the monk had to struggle, and as one follows the story of the fiends' assaults he is reminded of the account of the eight typical temptations drawn up by Cassian in his *Institutes*.<sup>10</sup> But both in the initial narrative of Antony's temptations (c. 5-13) and in the recapitulation of them in his Sermon (c. 16-43), the seductions are arranged approximately in the order of their natural appearance in the life of the solitary.

(a) First, the demons argue *subtly against the harassed hermit's decision to lead a lonely life* (c. 5; cf. 13). After all, they say, is this a proper method of life, especially for a man of his spiritual weakness? Was not his decision somewhat too enthusiastic and

must occur to the reader that the learned writer was industriously glossing a popular narrative, but that he neglected, for one reason or another, to explain away the actual physical damage done to the saint, at the tombs, by the "deceitful displays." It must be admitted, however, that in the *Vita* the deceitful displays are most realistically portrayed, and one remembers that Origen and some of the other Fathers had a far more materialistic conception of the appearances and works of devils than had Athanasius (*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, I, 809; Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew*, II, 212; Hurter, *Op. SS. Pat. Selecta*, I, Appendix, passages on demons, extracted from the early Fathers). Several sources, doubtless, contributed to the demonology of the *Vita*. R. Reitzenstein (*Des Athanasius Werk über das Leben des Antonius, S.-B. d. Heidelberg. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Kl.*, 1914, 8. Abhand., 36-37) and Sir E. A. Wallis-Budge (*The Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers*, London, 1907, I, p. 1) suggest Egyptian sources. On the widespread belief in demons during the first three centuries of the Christian era, see A. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, Leipzig, 1902, 92-105). Every reader of the *Vita*, however, is reminded at once, of course, of the devil that assailed Christ during His forty-day fast in the wilderness of Judea (*Matt. IV*). The large part which the realism of Antony's demonic battles played in the immense missionary influence of the *Vita* is typified in the testimony of St. Augustine: "We listened with amazement to the tale [*Vita Ant.*] of Thy wonders, so freshly wrought, almost in our own time [Antony died c. 357; Augustine was born 354], so well attested, springing from the true faith and the bosom of the Catholic Church" (*Confessions*, VIII, 4).

<sup>10</sup> *Lib. V-XII. Migne, Patrol. Lat., XLIX; N. P. N.*, ser. 2, XI. The *Institutes* were composed during the third decade of the fifth century. The temptations are arranged in the following order: gluttony, fornication, covetousness, anger, dejection, acedia, vainglory, pride. Antony's devils plague him with all these enticements save, possibly, that of anger; but the spirit of the *Vita* as a whole, and several sentences in its sermons, are a praise of the opposite virtue.

ill considered? Here is the fault of dejection, or wanhope. Re-consideration after the impulsive step has been taken! The dust of cogitation! Lingering regret! To an earnest soul, a kind of demon, indeed! And, by the nature of the case, one of the first demons of a voluntary solitude.

(b) An early product of solitude is *an abnormal imagery of lust* (c. 5-7; 23). The demons, says Antony, when they see Christians, and especially monks, sedulously engaged in the life of the spirit, vary their attacks by suggesting evil thoughts. Thus the havoc that riots in our blood is accounted for. This attack is to be met by prayer, fasting, and by faith in the Lord.

(c) *Intimidation* (c. 8, 9; 23, 24, 36, 39, 40).—The fiends adopt new tactics. "Shaping displays they attempt to strike fear, changing their shapes, taking the forms of women, wild beasts, creeping things, gigantic bodies, and troops of soldiers (c. 23)." How very naturally such hallucinations follow upon the prayer and fasting and subjective tension with which the eremite has met the temptations of lust! But how vivid is the terror of the lonely monk, who, lacking a rational psychology, perceives the figures of delirium as the very cohorts of the damned! Multitudinous are the visual and auditory automatisms of fevered nightmare. After dark the desert cell is packed with monstrous obscenities that beat and fiendishly wound their pitiful victim (c. 8); or, in the forms of all horrid and horrifying beasts, with tremendous din and uproar, while the earth quakes, demons rush upon him (c. 9). Perhaps they call upon their leader for help, and then the prince of demons may appear as Behemoth or Leviathan, his eyes burning like the morning star, his mouth aflame like a fire-spitting hearth, his nostrils emitting smoke (c. 24). But the monk, we are told, need not fear these deceitful displays, for they are as nothing, and they disappear quickly at the sign of the Cross. What a boon to midnight terror must have been that implicit faith in the sign of the Cross! Did men use it in their dreams, and if so did it *always* 'work'? One wonders, and the wilderness draws very near.

(d) *Defeat of the devil* (c. 13, 14; 35-39, 42, 43; 51-53).—Eventually, the struggle in the wilderness results in victory over

the principalities of evil. After long days and longer nights, and many of both, the mind, growing accustomed to its abnormality and learning that these horrors do not harm the body, at last can contemplate its 'devilized' experiences in fearless detachment. Then, with the consciousness of hardly-won victory over the cohorts of Satan, there comes to the monk a sense of strength, of mastery; a belief that he is inspired. Familiar conversion of the emotions, from the toxic to the tonic, from the asthenic to the sthenic! And with the advent of the sthenic emotions is linked a change in the character of the automatisms, from the fearful to the encouraging. Angelic comforters appear in the night watches. The approved monk makes connections with the sources of spiritual power. How the holy visions are to be distinguished from the unholy, Antony tells us.

The vision of the holy ones is not fraught with distraction. . . . But it comes so quietly and gently that immediately joy, gladness, and courage arise in the soul<sup>11</sup>. . . . But the inroad and the display of the evil spirits is fraught with confusion, with din, with sounds and cryings.<sup>12</sup>

One is not amazed to find that these four aspects of traffic with the infernal are characteristic of the Antonian tradition of eremitical experience. For the phases, as we have seen, express a typical sequence of psychic abnormality, and therefore were likely to recur under similar circumstances. Moreover, they were constantly held before the anchorites as model and prophecy of spiritual growth, and thus they were doubly likely to recur in the lives of susceptible solitaries. The recluses expected these assaults of the demons: few were disappointed. What may be called the psychological realism, if not the rationalization, of Antony's, or Athanasius', demonology is well brought out in the following observation from the forty-second chapter of the *Vita*:

For when they [the demons] come they approach us in a form corresponding to the state in which they discover us, and adapt their delusions to the state of mind in which they find us. If, therefore, they find us timid and confused, they forthwith beset the place, like robbers, having found it unguarded; and what we of ourselves are thinking, they do, and more also. For if they find us faint-hearted and cowardly, they mightily increase our terror, by their delusions and threats; and with these the unhappy soul is thenceforth tormented.

<sup>11</sup> Note the sthenic qualities.

<sup>12</sup> *Vita*, c. 35-36.

Guthlac's demonic experiences are similar to Antony's, both in details and in sequence,—far more similar than anything of the sort to be found in previous Western hagiography. They are introduced by the Scriptural phrase that introduces certain of Antony's sufferings: the ancient enemy of mankind *ceu leo rugiens*<sup>13</sup> seeks to harm the hermite.

(a) The first temptation is almost identical in the two Lives. The enemy afflicts the enthusiast with self-distrust. Guthlac is in despair as he realizes the magnitude of the task he has undertaken, and the multitude of his sins, of which he fears he can never be purged. After three days of this misery, Guthlac vanquishes the devil of doubt, and his patron, St. Bartholomew, having appeared in person to comfort him,<sup>14</sup> he sings the identical song of victory that Antony sings to celebrate his first<sup>15</sup> victory: *Dominus mihi adiutor est, et ego ridebo inimicos meos* (Ps. CXVII, 7).<sup>16</sup>

(b) Over the second temptation, the lust of the flesh, which frankly plays a very important part in Antony's misery, the English Felix draws a decent veil. After receiving a hint, in the seventeenth section, that the demon had already disturbed the monk's serenity with evil desires, we behold, in the nineteenth paragraph, a foul and furious crowd<sup>17</sup> assaulting him at night in the very midst of his devotions, driving him forth into the wilderness, through the muddy water of the fens and through bramble bushes, and beating him with iron whips. Now it was no uncommon

<sup>13</sup> *Vit. Guth.*, II, 17; *Vit. Ant.*, c. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Antony, too, has spiritual comfort in vision (c. 10, 13).

<sup>15</sup> "First," according to Athanasius, but concluding the first two temptations in our list, i. e., (a) and (b).

<sup>16</sup> *Vit. Guth.*, II, 17. Evagrius: . . . et ego exultabo super inimicos meos (c. 6); Vulgate: . . . et ego despiciam inimicos meos; Athanasius: . . . *καγω ἐπιφρομαι* [despiciam] τοῦς ἐχθρούς μου.

<sup>17</sup> Felix's anatomizing of these melancholy creatures deserves to be quoted: Erant enim aspectu truces, forma terribiles, capitibus magnis, collis longis, macilenta facie, lurido vultu, squallida barba, auribus hispidis, fronte torva, trucibus oculis, ore foetido, dentibus equinis, gutture flammivomo, faucibus tortis, labro lato, vocibus horrisonis, comis combustis, buccula ['bucella', Birch] crassa, pectore arduo, femoribus scabris, genibus nodosis ['nodatis,' Birch], cruribus uncis ['aduncis,' Birch], talo tumido, plantis aversis, ore patulo, clamoribus raucisonis: ita enim immensis vagitibus horrescere audiebantur, ut totam pene a coelo in terram intercapedinem ['inter crepedinem,' Birch] clangisonis boatibus implerent (II, 19).

invention of solitaries afflicted of the flesh to whip the evil out of themselves, or to plunge into a brier bush to make the spirit whole again,<sup>18</sup> or to immerse the offending body all night in icy water. Felix, with chaste ambiguity and a truly Victorian reticence, pictures these inventions only as demonic visitations. He leaves us to infer what was really happening to the poor saint.<sup>19</sup> But he borrows a hint from the eighth chapter of the *Vita Antonii*:<sup>20</sup> to the effect that the devils redoubled their tortures in order to drive the hermit from the wilderness. Evagrius reveals their motive quite clearly: they feared that Antony *accessu temporis eremum quoque habitari faceret*. They feared dispossession of their hereditary estates. Felix is less clear. The *zabuli* of the fens are represented as *imperantes sibi ut de eremo discederet*,—a phrase that conceals the striking realism of their actual motive under the secondary motive of defeating the saint's spiritual aims. To complete their assault upon his constancy, the fiends carry Guthlac to the confines of Hell, where, like Fursey, he beheld the sufferings of the damned. But, even as Hell's jaws gape for him, St. Bartholomew appears, and the devils *frendere, tremere, fugere, timere coeperunt*. To this vision of the underworld there is no parallel in Evagrius or Athanasius.

<sup>18</sup> St. Benedict, inflamed with concupiscence by his memory of a certain woman, was almost overcome. "But, suddenly assisted with God's grace, he came to himself; and seeing many thick briars and nettle-bushes to grow hard by, off he cast his apparel, and threw himself into the midst of them, and there wallowed so long that, when he rose up, all his flesh was pitifully torn: and so by the wounds of his body, he cured the wounds of his soul, in that he turned pleasure into pain, and by the outward burning of extreme smart, quenched that fire which, being nourished before with the fuel of carnal cogitations, did inwardly burn in his soul: and by this means he overcame the sin, because he made a change of the fire" (*Dialogues of St. Gregory*, II, 2; trans. by P. W., ed. by E. G. Gardner, London, 1911, p. 55).

<sup>19</sup> In the Life the whips are in the hands of the demons, but in drawings, sculptures, and on coins a whip is put into Guthlac's hand, and he wields it against the devils. See Schnebbelie, *The Antiquaries Museum*, London, 1791, sec. 7; p. 18; the eighth and ninth round pictures of the Harley Roll, Y. 6, printed by Gosser, *op. cit.* "The whip is figured on the Crowland half-penny, also on a shield on Kenulph's Cross, which still stands on the road between Thorney and Crowland" (Miller and Skerthly, *The Fenland, Past and Present*, 1878, p. 73). May not these figures represent an older tradition that Felix modified?

<sup>20</sup> Felix, indeed, seems in II, 19, to have telescoped the description of Antony's lustful demonism (*Vit. Ant.*, c. 5) and the story of his having been beaten into insensibility (c. 8).

In each Life the hermit's success in resisting these temptations and tortures drives the demons to tears. In the *Guthlac* (II, 19) two unnamed but lugubrious fiends deplore their lost power; in the *Antonius* (c. 6) a "black boy," specifically denominated the friend of whoredom, cringingly admits his failure. Further to veil the real character of his saint's afflictions, Felix indulges yet another ambiguous phrase, which, unfortunately, destroys the logic of his narrative. In dejected duet the imps complain: *Vires nostras ubique per te fractas lugemus, et inertiam nostram adversus valetudinem tuam ploramus: non enim te tangere, aut tibi appropinquare audemus.*<sup>21</sup> Now these words, though they could refer to physical continence, on the face of them, and in relation to the ambiguous events that have gone before, signify that the devils are quite vanquished and that they dare not approach Guthlac again. Yet the story goes on, in the very next sentence but one, to tell how the fiends did approach him again, almost immediately, to do him bodily harm. The inconsequence is rather striking. If Felix had followed his Evagrius more frankly, the impish ones would have explained that they wept as black friends of whoredom whose power had been broken. From that defeat to the next attack—that of physical intimidation—is a perfect Antonian sequence.

(c) With this chaste fumble, then, Felix introduces the test of intimidation. First, there comes an army<sup>22</sup> of British-speaking devils who awaken Guthlac, make him believe his house is on fire, and begin to toss him on the points of their spears. But the hermit drives them away with the *Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus*, the very psalm<sup>23</sup> with which Antony often repelled demonic attacks. Next, the infernals stage their most terrifying spectacle. Assuming the shapes of all kinds of dreadful animals,

<sup>21</sup> The *Antiquus Hostis*, as noted below, complained to St. Benedict of the violence that saint had done him (*Dial. Greg.*, II, 8).

<sup>22</sup> II, 20. Antony (c. 23) informs us that the demons sometimes appear as troops of soldiers, and avers that once he had been surrounded and threatened by such an army (c. 39).

<sup>23</sup> *Ps.* LXVIII, 1; *Vit. Ant.*, c. 13. After this onset Felix inserts (II, 21) the episode of Beccel's attempt to murder Guthlac, which may well have been suggested by Gregory's account of the attempt of Florentius to poison Benedict (*Dial. Greg.*, II, 8). The murderer's motive, as well as the method of his detection, is identical in the two episodes.



they stampede upon the holy one with a terrible cacophony. Felix's description of the event is a palpable adaptation of a passage in Evagrius, but he has stuffed the scene with sensational detail.

Sonitus igitur repentinus increpuit, ita ut loco funditus agitato, et parietibus patefactis, multifaria daemonum exinde turba se effunderet: nam et bestiarum et serpentium formas induentes, omnem protinus locum replevere phantasiis leonum, taurorum, luporum, aspidum, serpentium, scorpionum, necnon et pardorum atque ursorum. Et haec singula secundum suam fremebant naturam: rugiebat leo, accedere<sup>24</sup> volens: taurus mugitu et cornibus minabatur: serpens sibilum<sup>25</sup> personabat: luporum impetus ingerebantur: pardus discolori tergo auctoris sui calliditates varias indicabat: truces omnium vultus, et vocis horridae dirus auditus (Evagrius, c. 9).<sup>26</sup>

Ingenti sonitu totam insulam qua sedebat fremere circum putabat; deinde parvi temporis succedente intervallo, ecce subito velut concurrentium armentorum crepitum cum magno terrae tremore domui succedere audiebat. Nec mora domum, ab undique irrumperentes, variorum monstrorum diversas figuras introire prospicit. Nam leo rugiens, dentibus sanguineis morsu rabido imminebat; taurus vero mugitans, unguibus terram fodiens, cornu cruentum solo defigebat; ursus denique infrendens, validis ictibus brachia commutans, verbera promittebat; coluber quoque squamea colla porrigens, indicia atri veneni monstra- bat; et ut brevi sermone concludam, aper grunnitum, lupus ululatum, equus hinnitum, cervus axatum, serpens sibilum,<sup>27</sup> bos balatum, corvus crociturum, ad turbandum veri Dei verum militem, horrissonis vocibus stridebant (Felix, II, 22).<sup>28</sup>

But Guthlac mocks the bestial shapes and drives them off with Christ's name and the sign of the Cross. His mockery recalls Antony's:

<sup>24</sup> Thus nearly all MSS; Migne suggests *occidere*.

<sup>25</sup> Migne suggests *sibilo*.

<sup>26</sup> Later, in c. 39, there is another reference to the scene.

<sup>27</sup> In one of the MSS, *serpens sibi lumbos*; but Migne and Birch have corrected the division of words.

<sup>28</sup> "Similia scripsit S. Athanasius in Vita S. Antonii," observe the Bollandists (*Acta Sanctorum*, Paris ed., XII, 44A); but they have not noted the other borrowings.

[Antonius], quasi de inimicis luderet, loquebatur: Si virium aliquid haberetis, sufficeret unus ad praelium: sed quoniam Domino vos enervante frangimini, multitudine tentatis inferre terrores, cum hoc ipsum infirmitatis indicium sit, quod irrationabilium induitis formas bestiarum (Evagrius, c. 9).<sup>29</sup>

[Guthlacus], haec omnia phantasmatum genera despiciens, his vocibus usus aiebat: O miserime satana, manifestae sunt vires tuae. Nonne nunc miserarum bestiarum hinnitus, grunnitus, crocitusque imitaris, qui ante aeterno Deo te simile tentasti? (Felix, II, 22).

(d) With Guthlac's mocking dismissal of this extravagant spectacle, his victory over the Satanic hordes is complete. In the Antonius, the narrative of the hermit's struggles is lengthened out at this point (c. 10-13), but the signs of his victory are identical with those of Guthlac's,—the common insignia, indeed, of the solitary's spiritual triumph: powers of prophecy and miraculous healing.

7. *Miracle and prophecy.*—The power to perform miracles like those recorded in Scripture or in *exemplum patrum* is indubitable evidence of holiness. Athanasius (c. 14, 15; 38; 48, 50, 54, 57 ff.) represents this power in Antony as the stage of spiritual majority resulting from nearly two decades of discipline and solitude and from victory over the minions of Satan, and recites many examples of miraculous healing, prophecy, and exorcism. But Felix, without comment upon the spiritual coming-of-age of his saint, passes quickly to tales of miracles. He seems to have a penchant for marvelous stories about birds, and a special phase of Antony's power was his influence over wild animals. This, of course, is a favorite theme of hagiography. Sulpitius Severus, in the first of his *Dialogues*,<sup>30</sup> in which he is describing the life of the Egyptian eremites and cenobites, lays great stress upon the voluntary submission of wild beasts to the men of God, for herein he detects striking evidence of the godliness of the solitaries. A long list of such wonders might be made up from the legends of the early saints alone. Friendly bears and wolves, lions and tigers surrounded St. Blaise; St. Blandina was not harmed by the ferocious animals of the arena. St. Arey and St. Humbert harnessed wild bears. Wasps were submissive to St. Friard, a fox to St. Genulph,

<sup>29</sup> The idea recurs in Antony's sermon, c. 28.

<sup>30</sup> Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XX, 183-202.

flies to St. Leufriidus, frogs to St. Regulus and St. Ulpha, geese to St. Wereburga and St. Samson, sparrows to St. Thecla; and St. Maidoc yoked a sea cow to his plow.<sup>31</sup>

Felix, as has been said, shows a partiality for birds. They, however, would have been the chief, if not sole, wild visitors in the heart of the fens. Three of the four bird stories refer to the thievish and destructive propensities of crows;<sup>32</sup> the other, to the friendliness of the swallows. One hesitates to call the stories original, because of the great number of such tales. But the depredations of these particular crows are at least somewhat novel. That Felix had in mind Cuthbert's anecdotes about birds<sup>33</sup> would appear from the fact that twice at the close of his stories he inserts sentences taken almost bodily from Bede's comment on Cuthbert's power over wild fowl.<sup>34</sup>

But Guthlac's spiritual majority is evidenced also in other and less volatile stories. Like Antony, as well as most of the saints, he is an exorcist, healer, clairvoyant, and prophet. *Coepit etiam inter ista vir Dei Guthlacus prophetiae spiritu pollere, futura praedicere, praesentibus absentia narrare.*<sup>35</sup> Several examples of his

<sup>31</sup> The list might be greatly extended. Felix must have heard many such stories. But they cannot be regarded as peculiarly Christian. In view of the similarity of the *Antonius* to Neopythagorean biography (see below), it is interesting to note that Iamblichus has such a story in his *Life of Pythagoras* (ed. Kiessling, Leipzig, 1816, pp. 60-61; cf. 108, 168). Reitzenstein, referring to the story, avers that there is a direct literary tradition from the bears of Pythagoras to the hyenas of Macarius and the wolf of Francis (*Athan. Werk.*, pp. 38-39; *Hellenist. Wundererz.*, 1906, p. 82, note). H. Günter (*Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, 1910), has considered the derivation of some of these legends from Oriental saints' lives. Scriptural warranty for the animal story is found not only in the Elijah and Daniel episodes, but in such a statement as *Hos. II, 18*: "And in that day will I make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field, and with the birds of the heavens, and with the creeping things of the ground." Cf. *Ezek. XXXIV, 25-28; Job V, 23; Is. XI, 6-9*.

<sup>32</sup> Antony's garden was molested by wild beasts. But "he, gently laying hold of one of them, said to them all, 'Why do you hurt me when I hurt none of you? Depart, and in the name of the Lord come not nigh unto this spot.'" He was obeyed (c. 50). Felix's bird tales are in III, 23-26.

<sup>33</sup> VI, 32, 33. Cuthbert's crow story is far inferior in novelty and interest to Guthlac's characteristic tales of that ingenious fowl. In his life of Benedict, Gregory also has a crow anecdote (*Dial. Greg.*, II, 8).

<sup>34</sup> Felix III, 25, Nulli ergo . . . sapientiam, from Bede VI, 33, Nulli autem . . . sapientiam; Felix III, 24, Non solum . . . negligimus, from Bede VI, 34, Non sola . . . negligimus.

<sup>35</sup> Felix IV, 29. Gosser has noticed that the sentence is taken from *Dial. Greg.*, II, 12. There is a similarity, too, in the miracles that follow

powers are given, and some similarity to Antony's feats on the one hand, and to St. Benedict's on the other, is discernible. Both Antony and Guthlac exorcise young men of extraordinary violence,<sup>36</sup> and both Guthlac and Benedict are clairvoyantly aware of the unlawful pleasures of traveling monks.<sup>37</sup>

8. *Crowds resort to the hermit.*—Similarities of the sort just mentioned are, of course, so common in the lives of the saints that the borrower's actual orbit cannot be determined without corroborative evidence of another kind, such as close similarity in phrasing, repeated parallelism of main episodes, or striking correspondence in the manner of ordering the incidents. But the parallelism of episodes in the lives of Guthlac and Antony, and the similar ordering of the most important and characteristic of these episodes has already been demonstrated; and now, as Felix comments upon the fame of Guthlac's miraculous powers, it is possible again to point out a case of verbal borrowing, but a rather complex, and as it affects the *Vita Antonii* a rather indirect, case. Gosser<sup>38</sup> has already called attention to the fact that Felix has based a passage descriptive of the many visits paid to Guthlac by religious and lay persons in search of physical and spiritual aid, upon a section in Bede's *Cuthbert*:

Veniebant autem multi ad virum Dei, non solum de proximis Lindisfarnensium finibus, sed etiam de remotioribus Britanniae partibus, fama nimirum virtutum ejus acciti: qui vel sua, quae comississent errata, vel daemonum, quae paterentur tentamenta profitentes, vel certe communia mortalium quibus affligerentur, ad-versa patefacientes, a tantae sanctitatis viro se consolandos sperabant. Nec eos fefellit spes (Bede, VI, 35).

Ad virum Dei Guthlacum multi . . . non solum de proximis Merciorum finibus, verum etiam de remotis Britanniae partibus, fama nimirum virtutum acciti, confluebant; quos aut corporum aegritudo, aut immundorum spirituum infestatio, aut commissorum errorum professio, aut aliorum quorumque criminum quibus humanum genus alluitur, . . . a tantae sanctitatis viro consolandos fore sperabant. Nec illos vana spes fefellit (Felix, IV, 31).

in the two Lives, though Benedict's *religiosa femina* becomes a tipling, racy widow in the *Guthlac*. The motive of the Brothers is lowered in like manner in Felix. But the general management is similar.

<sup>36</sup> *Vit. Guth.*, III, 27, 28; *Vit. Ant.*, c. 57, 64.

<sup>37</sup> *Vit. Guth.*, IV, 29; *Dial. Greg.*, II, 12.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

To these sentences there are no parallels in Evagrius or Athanasius; but what directly follows in both Bede and Felix, only a part of which is printed by Gonser, certainly involves reminiscence of a passage in Evagrius. Here are the three passages, and, for comparison's sake, the Greek original.

Namque nullus ab eo sine gaudio consolationis abibat, nullum dolor animi, quem illo attulerat, redeuntem comitatus est. Noverat quippe moestos pia exhortatione refovere; sciebat angustiatas gaudia vitae coelestis ad memoriam revocare, fragilia seculi hujus et prospera simul et adversa monstrare (Bede, VI, 35).

Τίς γὰρ λυπούμενος ἀπήντα, καὶ οὐχ ὑπέστρεφε χαίρων; τίς ἤρχετο θρηνῶν διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότας, καὶ οὐχ εὐθέως ἀπετίθετο τὸ πένθος; τίς ὀργιζόμενος ἤρχετο, καὶ οὐκ εἰς φιλίαν μετεβάλλετο; τίς πένθῃ ἀκηδιῶν ἀπήντα, καὶ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ καὶ βλέπων αὐτὸν, οὐ κατεφρόνει τοῦ πλοῦτου, καὶ παρεμβεῖτο τὴν πενίαν; τίς μοναχὸς, ἀλιγωρῆσας, καὶ ἐλθὼν [ἀπελθὼν] πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὐ μᾶλλον ἰσχυρότερος ἐγένετο; τίς νεώτερος ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ δρος, καὶ θεωρήσας Ἀντώνιον, οὐκ εὐθέως ἐξηρνεῖτο τὰς ἡδονὰς, καὶ ἡγάπα σωφροσύνην; τίς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ δαίμονος πειραζόμενος, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεπαύετο; τίς δὲ ἐν λογισμοῖς ἐνοχλούμενος ἤρχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐγαληνία τῇ διανοίᾳ; (Athanasius, c. 87).

Nam nullus ab illo aegrotus sine remedio, nullus vexatus sine salute, nullus tristis sine gaudio, nullum taedium sine exhortatione, nulla moestitia sine consolatione, nulla anximonia sine consilio ab illo reversa est; sed vera caritate pollens, omnium labores cum omnibus unanimiter pertulerat (Felix, IV, 31).

Quis non tristitiam apud Antonium mutavit in gaudium? quis non iram vertit in pacem? quis orbitatis luctum non ad ejus temperavit aspectum? quis non moerore paupertatis, quo premebatur, abjecto, statim et divitum desepit opulentias, et in sua laetatus est paupertate? quis post lassitudinem monachus non ejus vegetatus est hortamentis? quis adolescens, aetatis succensus ardoribus, non ex ejus admonitu pudicitiae amator fuit? quis vexatus a diabolo sine medela rediit? quis inimici cogitationibus distractus, non, caeca tempestate sopita, sereno regressus est animo? (Evagrius, c. 87).

A survey of these paragraphs of itemized virtues shows that the second selection (Felix) derives not only from the first (Bede) but also from the fourth (Evagrius). From Bede's first sentence Felix has taken the rhetorical form (the *Nullus* balance) for the greater part of his compilation. But he has two items that are not mentioned by Bede, for which, however, there are parallels in Evagrius. Felix's *nullus vexatus sine salute* does not repeat any

phrase in Bede, but is similar to the *quis vexatus a diabolo sine medela* of Evagrius, which, by the way, makes clear what is missing in Felix, viz., the agent of *vexatus*. Felix's *nullum taedium sine exhortatione* has no specific parallel in Bede, but is reminiscent of the *quis post lassitudinem . . . hortamentis* of Evagrius. Felix, then, in rehearsing the fame of Guthlac, appears to have worked with both Evagrius and Bede before him. Bede, too, seems to have composed with an eye upon Evagrius. It is to be remembered that he definitely compares one of Cuthbert's miracles with one of Antony's (*Cuth.*, VI, 32).

9. *Specimen discourse*.—A large part of the *Vita Antonii* (c. 16–43; cf. 55, 69, 74–80) is taken up with a discourse pronounced by the saint. One recalls the analogous sermons in the Gospels. Here was Felix's opportunity for abbreviation, of which he fully availed himself, thereby saving us that continual note of repetition that disfigures the *Antonius*. But though he has very properly deprived us of a repetitive discourse, he has so expanded, so eloquently expanded, Guthlac's death-bed speech that it has all the desired effect of a prolonged veritable utterance of the saint himself.

10. *Valedictory, death, winning of eternal life*.—Antony learns of Providence that his death is near.<sup>39</sup> Presently, on his death-bed, he utters his farewell and benediction, speaking joyously, "as though sailing from a foreign city to his own." And he is aware that he passes to eternal life. One critic would have it that the whole biography turns on the assurance of eternal bliss,<sup>40</sup> and in a way it does, for the acme of the saint's spiritual development in the mundane sphere is reached with this certainty. But it is also true, as another authority reminds us,<sup>41</sup> that almost from the beginning of the *Vita* we know that Antony will achieve Heaven. His power over evil culminates in his victory over that physical

<sup>39</sup> Such foreknowledge, K. Holl reminds us (*Enthusiasmus und Busse-gewalt*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 188), is in the faith of the Greek Church the greatest proof of the life eternal.

<sup>40</sup> K. Holl, "Die schriftstellerische Form des griechischen Heiligen-lebens, *Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alt.*, XXIV (1912), pp. 406–427.

<sup>41</sup> Reitzenstein, *Des Athan. Werk*, p. 29, note 3.

death which is the very sign and punishment of evil, the curse laid upon man for his disobedience to the divine law. Certainly, whatever of more or less Christianity may be, it is, emphatically, an idealization of suffering and a discipline in contempt of temporal death. So the monks lived it. To escape eternal death they feared no temporal peril. This note Felix has struck no less emphatically than Athanasius.

Like Antony, Guthlac has foreknowledge of his death, delivers a valedictory, dies joyously, and departs to eternal life. But in these closing scenes Felix has also drawn from Bede's *Cuthbert*. Bede, faithful to the elegiac preoccupation of the Anglo-Saxon mind, to that sentimentalism concerning death that has so distinguished English poetry, had caught up the suggestion of a death-bed scene, perhaps from the *Vita Antonii* itself, and in his *Cuthbert* had carried it much further than had, say, Athanasius or Sulpitius Severus or Gregory the Great or Gregory of Tours in their hagiography. But Felix pushes the development still further. He elaborates the dialogue between the Saint and his attendant, stressing Guthlac's physical weakness but unconquerable spirit, his high joy at the prospect of release from the flesh and attainment of eternal reward, and the comfort he administers to the mournful servant. He dwells effectively upon the marvelous: upon the angel of consolation who for years each morning and evening had companioned the Saint in his solitude, upon the odor of sanctity in which the Saint expired, and upon the divine light that filled and veiled the house of death. Moreover, Felix has attained a dramatic unity that is lacking in the *Cuthbert*. In the latter the death scene is complicated and interrupted by the coming and going of monks, by a final testing of the Saint, by demonic persecutions, by a debate as to his place of burial, and by the sick man's last miracle,—healing his attendant of diarrhœa! All this departing and returning, and intermediate, ineffective detail is missing in *Guthlac*. Indeed, beside Felix's account, so admirably unified, so effectively composed of piety, fortitude, consolation, high adventure, and divine marvel, Bede's picture of Cuthbert's death, improvement as it is upon the *Vita*

*Antonii*, nevertheless appears meager and dry.<sup>42</sup> Is it not interesting to find Felix, who is much inclined to Aldhelmic rhetoric, rising at this point above Athanasius and Bede in dramatic control, in dignity and pathos, to a really impressive style?

Gonser has already directed attention to the relation between the death scenes in the *Guthlac* and the *Cuthbert*; but because he has omitted parts of the passages involved, and, furthermore, because the juxtaposition of the passages will reveal the eclectic method of Felix's borrowing and the extent to which he has gone beyond Bede, the sections concerned may be added here.

#### BEDE

Cujus obitum libet verbis illius, cujus relatione didici, describere. Herefridi videlicet . . . Siquidem [inquit] quarta feria coepit aegrotare, et rursus quarta feria, finita aegritudine, migravit ad Dominum.

Ad quem cum mane primo inchoatae infirmitatis venirem . . . processit ad fenestram, et salutanti se mihi suspirium pro responso reddidit.

Cui ego dixi: Quid habes Domine mi Episcopo? an forte nocte hac tuus te languor tetigit? At

#### FELIX

Septem enim diebus dira aegritudine decoctus, octava die ad extrema pervenit. Siquidem quarta feria ante Pascha aegrotare coepit: et iterum octava die, quarta feria, quarto etiam lumine Paschalis festi, finita aegritudine ad Dominum migravit. Habitabat ergo cum eo sub illo tempore unus Frater, Beccelinus<sup>43</sup> nomine, cujus relatione haec de obitu viri Dei Guthlaci descripsimus: qui cum illo die inchoatae molestiae ad eum venerit, coepit illum virum Dei, ut assolebat, de aliis interrogare. Ille autem tarde respondens, demum cum sermone suspirium traxit. Cui ipse Frater inquires ait: Domine mi, quid novi tibi accidit? an forte nocte hac ulla infirmitatis molestia te<sup>44</sup> tetigit? At ille:

<sup>42</sup> About 5 per cent of the text of Evagrius is devoted to the death of Antony; about 9 per cent of the *Cuthbert* is given to the death-scene; over 11 per cent of the *Guthlac*; over 33 per cent of the Cynewulfian *Guthlac A* and *B* taken together, but over 79 per cent of *B* taken separately; over 12 per cent of the M. E. verse *Guthlac*, which follows Felix very closely, but with abbreviations; over 8 per cent of Tynemouth's abbreviated *Guthlac*, in the *Nova Legenda Angliae*; nearly 9 per cent of the abstract in the *Vitae Sanctorum* of Surius; over 19 per cent of Harpsfield's abstract in his *Historia anglicana ecclesiastica* (1622).

<sup>43</sup> "The second of the four hermits living at the time of Kenulf's foundation of the abbey in 716, in separate cells near the oratory of Guthlac" (Birch, 54, n. 6).

<sup>44</sup> Variant readings: te infirmitatis molestia; infirmitas molestiae te.



ille: *Etiam, inquit, languor me tetigit nocte hac . . . . (X, 56).*

Intravi autem [inquit Herefridus] ad eum circa horam diei nonam, inveni que eum recubentem in angulo sui oratorii contra altare; . . . nec multa loquebatur, quia pondus aegritudinis facilitatem loquendi minoraverat (XI, 60).

*Etiam, inquit, molestia me tetigit nocte hac. Quem item interrogans ait: Scisne, Pater mi, tuae infirmitatis causam, aut quem finem hujus molestae aegritudinis esse putas? Cui vir Dei respondens inquit: Fili mi, languoris mei causa est, ut ab his membris spiritus separetur; finis autem infirmitatis meae erit octavus dies, in quo peracto hujus vitae cursu debeo dissolvi et esse cum Christo: expedit enim, sarcina carnis abjecta, Agnum Dei sequi. His auditis praedictus Frater, flens et gemens, crebris lacrymarum rivulis moestas genas rigavit: quem vir Dei consolans ait: Fili mi, tristitiam ne admittas; non enim mihi labor est ad Dominum meum, cui servivi, in requiem venire aeternam. Tanta ergo fidei fuit, ut mortem, quae cunctis mortalibus timenda formidandaque videtur, ille velut requiem aut praemium laboris judicaret. Interea decursis quaternarum dierum articulis, dies Paschae pervenit: in qua vir Dei contra vires exurgens, immolato Dominici Corporis sacrificio et Sanguinis Christi libamine, praefato Fratri Verbum Dei evangelizare coepit: qui numquam ante, neque post tam magnam profunditatem scientiae se ab ullius ore audisse testatur. Denique cum septimus dies infirmitatis ipsius devenisset, praefatus Frater illum circa horam sextam visitavit inveni que eum recubentem in angulo oratorii sui contra altare: nec tamen tunc cum eo loquebatur, quia pondus infirmitatis facultatem loquendi exemit. Denique illo poscente ut dicta sua secum dimitteret, antequam moreretur; vir Dei cum fessos humeros parumper*

Est autem ad Aquilonarem ejusdem oratorii partem sarcophagus terrae cespitè abditus quem olim mihi Cudda venerabilis Abbas donavit: in hoc corpus meum reponite, involventes in sindone, quam invenietis istic. Nolui quidem ea vivens indui, sed pro amore dilectae Deo foeminae, quae hanc mihi misit, Vercae videlicet Abbatissae, ad obvolendum corpus meum reservare curavi. Haec ergo audiens: Obsecro, inquam, Pater, quia infirmantem et moriturum te audio . . . . (X, 56).

a pariete levaret, suspirans aiebat: Fili mi, quia tempus nunc appropinquat, ultima mandata mea intendere. Postquam spiritus hoc corpusculum deseruerit, perge ad sororem meam Pegam, et dicas illi, quia ideo aspectum illius in hoc seculo vitavi, ut in aeternum coram Patre nostro in gaudio sempiterno adinvicem videamur. Dices quoque ut illa corpus meum imponat in sarcophagum, et in sindone involvat, quam mihi Ecgburh mittebat. Nolui quidem vivens<sup>46</sup> ullo lineo tegmine corpus meum tegere: sed pro amore dilectae Christi Virginis, quae haec munera mihi mittebat, ad volendum corpus meum reservare curavi. Audiens autem haec praefatus Frater, exorsus inquit: Obsecro te, Pater mi, quia infirmitatem tuam intelligo, et moriturum te audio, ut dicas mihi unum de quo olim te interrogare non ausus diu sollicitabar: nam ab eo tempore quo tecum, Domine, habitare coeperam, te loquentem vespere et mane audiebam nescio cum quo. Propterea adjuro te, ne me sollicitum de hac re post obitum tuum dimittas. Tunc vir Dei, post temporis intervallum, anhelans ait: Fili mi, de hac re sollicitare noli, quod enim vivens<sup>46</sup> ulli hominum indicare nolui, nunc tibi manifestabo. A secundo etenim anno, quo hanc eremum habitare coeperam, mane vespereque semper Angelum consolationis meae ad meum colloquium Dominus mittebat, qui mihi mysteria quae non licet homini narrare, monstravit: qui duritiam laboris mei coelestibus oraculis sublevabat, qui absentia mihi monstrando ut praesentia

<sup>46</sup> Variant reading: juvenis.

praesentabat. O Fili, haec dicta mea conserva, nullique alii nuntiaveris, nisi Pegae aut Ecgerberto anchoretae, si umquam in colloquium ejus tibi venire contigerit, qui solus haec sic fuisse cognoscet. Dixerat, et cervicem parieti flectens longa suspiria imo de pectore traxit, refocillatoque rursus spiritu cum parumper anhelaret, velut melliflui floris odoratus de ore ipsius processisse sentiebatur; ita ut totam domum qua sederet, nectareus odor infunderet. Nocte vero sequenti, cum praefatus Frater nocturnis vigiliis incumberet, igneo candore a mediae noctis spatio usque in auroram totam domum circumspendescere videbat. Oriente autem sole vir Dei sublevatis parumper membris velut exurgens, cum supramemorato Fratere loqui coepit, dicens: Fili mi, praepara te, iter tuum perge; jam me nunc tempus cogit ab his membris dissolvi, et decursis hujus vitae terminis ad infinita gaudia spiritus transtolli malit. Dixit, et extendens manus ad altare, munivit se communionem Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, atque elevatis oculis ad coelum extensisque manibus, animam ad gaudia perpetuae exultationis emisit. . . . Inter haec praefatus Frater subito coelestis luminis splendore domum repleri, turrimque velut igneam e terra in coelum erectam prospicit: in cuius splendoris comparatione cum tunc sol in medio coelo steterat, velut lucerna in die pallidescere videbatur. Cantibus quoque Angelicis spatium totius aeris detonari audiebatur: insulam etiam illam diversorum aromatum odoriferis spiraminibus inflari cerneret (V, 35).

. . . . exitum suum . . . . Dominici Corporis et Sanguinis communionem munivit, atque elevatis ad coelum oculis, extensisque in altum manibus, intentam superni laudibus animam ad gaudia regni coelestis emisit (XI, 60).

A perusal of these passages reveals Felix 'lifting' from Bede, not always in the order in which they appear in the *Cuthbert*, parts of speeches as well as descriptive and narrative phrases. If one adds these passages to those quoted above and takes them all in retrospect, he can almost see Felix at work, with the *Vita Antonii*, the *Vita Cuthberti*, and the *Dialogi Gregorii* open before him, and perhaps the *Vita Martini* as well, while with the plan and spirit of the *Antonius* as model he pieces out the details of the Guthlac oral tradition with passages and phrases from his four manuscripts, drawing at first most largely from Evagrius, later most often from Bede.

11. *Purpose: the Man-of-God motif.*—As both Holl and Reitzenstein have remarked, the real motive of the *Vita Antonii* is didactic rather than biographic. The biography is indeed interesting in itself, both for its marvels and for its information concerning the life and character of a famous and peculiar individual. It is true that the author sets out to write a complete and well-rounded biography and accomplishes that resolve. But in unmistakable ways, in explicit statement and pervading spirit, the real aim of Athanasius is revealed as the portrayal of a Man of God, specifically, the ideal monk,—his problems and their solutions, his attainments, his reward. At the close of the work, in the ninety-third and ninety-fourth chapters, this purpose is fully declared:

. . . . reflect how great Antony, the Man of God, was . . . . The fact that his fame has been blazoned everywhere; that all regard him with wonder, and that those who have never seen him long for him, is clear proof of his virtue and God's love of his soul. For not from writings, nor from worldly wisdom, nor through any art, was Antony renowned, but solely from his piety towards God. That this was the gift of God no one will deny. For from whence into Spain and Gaul, how into Rome and Africa, was the man heard of who abode hidden in a mountain, unless it was God who maketh His own known everywhere . . . .? For even if they work secretly, even if they wish to remain in obscurity, yet the Lord shows them as lamps to lighten all . . . . Read these words, therefore, to the rest of the brethren that they may learn what the life of monks ought to be.

*Vir Dei Guthlacus* is an oft recurring phrase in the edifying work of Felix. It might be termed the text of the edification, the

motif of the narrative. For, though the author has displayed a strong interest in the more sensational aspects of his story, in the horrific figures of the demons and the wondrous aviary of the Fens, he by no means has neglected the solemnity of his subject. Every chapter is witness to his admiration of the saintly character of Guthlac. The elaborate death scene is instinct with the spirit of this Man of God, who was never so divine, we are told, as at his going forth. Indeed, a striking contrast in the *Vita Guthlaci* has resulted from Felix's elaboration of the two Antonian themes of devils and death: the devils he has made fearfully grotesque, the death of the saint well-nigh sublime. The contrast may be incongruous for modern taste. But to the superstitious piety of an age tremendously concerned with the omnipresent war of flesh and spirit, Devil and God, the contrast was of the very essence of that terrible struggle by which the individual, ceasing to be a slave of sin, became a Man of God.

Such, then, is the demonstrable relation of the *Guthlac* to the *Antony*: a similarity of motif, plan, and incidents, supplemented by verbal borrowing. But need stress be placed upon the larger phases of this relationship,—those of purpose and spirit and construction? Has not the *Antony*, as in all probability<sup>46</sup> the first saint's life of any moment, always served as the original model in its field? Is there any peculiar relation, so far as these larger parallels are concerned, between the *Antony* and the *Guthlac*?

The actual extent, in time and in kind, of the literary influence of the *Antony*, particularly in the West,<sup>47</sup> has never been accurately determined. Unsupported assertion and vague generalization as to the incidence of this influence have passed current in scholarship. To be sure, it has been suggested that the later saints' lives are in character and purpose quite different from the *Antony*. Reitzenstein remarks that Athanasius "*ein Heiligenleben im späteren Sinn gar nicht erzählen und noch weniger eine Heiligen-*

<sup>46</sup> For the historicity and authorship of the *Antonius* see Dom C. Butler, *The Lausiac Hist. of Palladius*, 1898, 1904, I, 215-228; II, x-xi; H. B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, 1913, pp. 353-354.

<sup>47</sup> Holl asserts that the Life was a model in the East for saints' lives as long as they were written there (*Die schriftstellerische Form*, etc., p. 426).

*verehrung für Antonius in Anspruch nehmen will.*"<sup>48</sup> But Holl insists that the *Antony* early became a model for many similar works in the West, though he admits that its imitators never went beyond it, scarcely ever reached it.<sup>49</sup> He takes Günter to task for stating that the Christian legends of the Orient exerted no definitive influence in the Occident before the seventh century,<sup>50</sup> and specifically cites the *Antony* as proof to the contrary.<sup>51</sup>

The ordinary view, and it is not much more than an assumption, is that the influence of the work has always been very great, extending to general plan and to details of construction as well. A great variety of writers see in almost very life of a saint written later than the *Antony* an imitation of the latter. They refer to the biographic pattern of these lives as Antonian, and to nearly all devil scenes as Athanasian and Jeromean. Now it may be admitted at once that the arrangement of biographic material in the *Antony* and commonly in the later lives is the chronological one of birth, infancy and youth, religious vocation, deeds, and death. This is the natural, though to be sure not the only possible ordering of such details. (How far the *Antony* was any more responsible for its adoption in hagiography than were well-known models of classical biography, especially those of Plutarch and certain Pythagorean writers, it is difficult if not impossible to determine.) On the other hand, there are other features of the *Antony*, far more closely connected with its essential purpose of edification, such as the teaching concerning the nature of demons, the insistence upon intellectual serenity and moderation in ascetic discipline, and the repeated recourse to quoting the saint's sermons, which are not nearly so typical of the later lives. Moreover, so far as the common assumption concerning the demonology is concerned, it can be shown that the devils of Jerome are not the devils of Athanasius, whatever Jerome may have intended; and

<sup>48</sup> *Des Athanasius Werk*, p. 29, note 3.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 426-427.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>51</sup> But it is not clear to me that Günter regards the *Antony* as Oriental; and Holl, I think, in attacking Günter does not distinguish between the influence of the *Antony* upon Western monasticism and its effect as a literary model.

the devils of the hagiographers of the first seven centuries are Jeromean rather than Athanasian, whatever the hagiographers themselves may have thought or intended. Except in the case of some four or five lives, among which the *Guthlac* takes first place, the literary influence of the *Antony* in the West was for upwards of three and a half centuries superficial, rather than profound, and highly problematic at that.

But to substantiate these claims a brief review must be made of the principal saints' lives, at least, from the *Antony* to the *Guthlac*.

About 374, twelve to eighteen years after the *Vita Antonii* was composed, Jerome wrote his fictive biography of Paul of Thebes.<sup>52</sup> In 390, at Bethlehem, he wrote the marvelous life of St. Hilarion.<sup>53</sup> Both lives, of course, are motivated by the Man-of-God ideal, both are localized in Egypt, both saints are represented as meeting and conversing with Antony, and both of them lived in eremitic seclusion. At an early age Paul and his sister, like Antony and his, lost their parents; Paul was gentle and God-conscious, like Antony; during the Decian persecutions in the Thebaid the brother and sister retired to a secluded spot, and, later, fearing that his brother-in-law would betray him, Paul fled across the desert to the mountains, where he remained until his death. The last item resembles Antony's two removes in search of solitude, but the immediate object of Paul's flight was personal safety rather than sanctity. The hermit had assurance of salvation and foreknowledge of his death. The rest of the story, dealing with Antony's journey to see Paul and with Paul's death, does not resemble the *Vita* except in one detail,—Antony's encounter with a fabulous creature that reminds us of the satyr mentioned in the *Antonius* (c. 53). The clear vocation and the scene of it, the enumeration of ascetic practices, the praise of tranquility, the realistic demonism, the power of healing and prophecy, the resorting of crowds, the sermon, the valedictory: these aspects of the Antonian life are missing. There is no indubitable evidence that the life of

<sup>52</sup> Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XXIII, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*, pp. 29 ff.

Paul was modeled on the *Vita*, and, certainly, its resemblance to the latter is too slight and too insignificant to call for more than passing remark.

But the *Hilarion*<sup>54</sup> is another story. The hero at the age of fifteen loses both parents, divides his property among his brothers and the local poor, and assumes the vow of poverty in obedience to the Gospel's injunction. Jerome portrays the saint's vocation and the scene of it, the retirement into the desert in search of sanctity, the quest for an ever remoter retirement, a long series of demonic adventures that are distinctly reminiscent of Antony's demonology, the saint's ascetic practices and miraculous powers, his last wanderings, and his death. Hilarion was assured of salvation, enjoyed foreknowledge of his death, and spoke a brief valedictory. The resemblance to the *Vita Antonii* is manifest, and it pervades the composition, extending even to several minor details I cannot pause to mention. But, clear as the influence appears, it is equally clear that Jerome has produced but a poor copy of his model. Not only is this model 'reduced' in most of its aspects (the miracles and wanderings are expanded, but the devil scenes and other features are cut down), not only is the style more rhetorical and less dignified, not only are mass and meaning lost by omission of apothegm and sermon: the most significant spiritual ideals are not comprehended. Jerome loves to depict extreme austerity in discipline, and therewith he misses the distinctive moderateness of Antony's asceticism and the fine, high note of tranquility. We do not associate serenity with the choleric impatience of Jerome. In place of the unity and continuity in demoniacal attack, there is a disunited enumeration of the assaults of the devils—women lusting, infants weeping, oxen lowing, armies rampaging, wild beasts roaring, etc.—that is completely innocent of psychological realism. Like most of his successors who superficially imitated the Antonian demonism, Jerome piles up his devil stories in indiscriminate confusion, merely as a romantic sign of his hero's spiritual *éclat*. By their devils the saints are

<sup>54</sup> P. Winter has maintained that the literary form of the *Hilarion* derives from classical biography (*Der literarische Charakter der Vita beati Hilarionis des Hieronymus*, Zittau, 1904).



known, although Antony repeatedly warned the monks that it is not fitting "that he who casts out devils should be highly esteemed, while he who casts them not out should be considered nought." But, as so often in the history of literary imitation, a sensational detail is exaggerated at the expense of meaning and artistic unity. Jerome is a romanticist in miracles. He loves an '*O Miraculum*' for its own sake, and there is more zoology than spirituality in many of his marvels, and yet less zoology than 'nature-faking.' It should be noted, also, that Jerome is at pains to report that the saint's body at translation, which occurred almost a year after death, was whole and fresh and fragrant with the odor of sanctity. It is said that Jerome was the first to introduce into hagiography the folk story of the undecayed corpse.

Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* (ca. 392), continued under the same title by Gennadius (between 480 and 495) and by Isidore of Seville (ca. 630), with its very brief notices, more bibliographical than biographical, belongs to another tradition. At the beginning of the work Jerome refers to Suetonius, Cicero (the *Brutus*), Hermippus of Smyrna, Aristoxenus the Musician, Varro, Nepos, and other Greek and Roman compilers of biographies, and his own compilation is in the method of the Alexandrian grammarians.<sup>55</sup>

Between 392 and 425, probably nearer the earlier date, Sulpitius Severus wrote his *Life of St. Martin*.<sup>56</sup> In general tone and spirit this work is closer to the *Antonius* than is the *Hilarion*. It is the life not of an anchorite, but of a bishop, and therefore, like most lives of bishops, is not open to such an insistence upon solitude and discipline as is characteristic of the lives of hermits. But Martin, who unwillingly had given up the cenobitic life for an episcopate (c. 9), sought solitude at every opportunity. He always retained his homely habits and his humility of heart. "He kept up the position of a bishop properly, yet in such a way as

<sup>55</sup> Cf. F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer litterarischen Form* (Leipzig, 1901), chap. 6.

<sup>56</sup> Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XX, pp. 159 ff.; *N. P. N.*, ser. 2, XI. The *Life of St. Ambrose* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XIV), by Paulinus of Milan, written shortly after the death (397) of the saint, does not belong to the Antonian tradition, though in its Prologue the *Antonius* is mentioned, along with Jerome's *Paul* and the *St. Martin* of Severus, as a model of biography.

not to lay aside the objects and virtues of a monk." His discipline is represented as moderate (c. 26), and more weight is given to an Antonian serenity of spirit than to the details of his asceticism. "No one ever saw him enraged, or excited, or lamenting, or laughing; he was always one and the same: displaying a kind of heavenly happiness in his countenance, he seemed to have passed the ordinary limits of human nature" (c. 27). He was, indeed, the very sort of servant of God that Athanasius had exalted.

But the general plan of the work involves in some respects a remarkable inversion of that of the *Vita*. There is, to be sure, an epistolary prologue, in which the author joins to an apology for his style a word on the purpose and method of his composition, his aim being to set up for mankind a model of virtue. Next, the religious inclination of the youthful Martin is described, though of his actual vocation we are given only a hint (c. 2). His early virtues, by which he distinguished himself while he was a soldier, and his struggle to leave the military for the religious life, are illustrated by several anecdotes (c. 2-4). Then, without noticing the successive steps of Martin's spiritual ascent, the author passes to the relation of miracles (c. 5-8). Surprisingly little account is taken of prophecy. Presently, Martin is made bishop (c. 9, 10), as mentioned above; but the stories of his miracles continue (c. 11-19). Crowds, of course, are attracted by the fame of his signs (c. 13). Then, the demonology of the Life is put rather strangely toward its close (c. 21-24), quite out of its place and function in the Antonian scheme. Needless to say, it loses psychological realism along with spiritual function. Thus, though both devils and miracles are introduced, progression in conquering the former is not made to lead to the divine gift of the latter. That scheme of spiritual gradation which is an essential part of the *Vita*, is missing altogether. Like Jerome, Sulpitius Severus takes a romantic rather than psychological interest in devils and miracles; unlike him, Severus appreciates the ideal of moderation and the "heitere Stille der Seele."<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> M. Delehaye has tried to make out a case of verbal borrowing from the *Antonius* (*Analecta Boll.*, XXXVIII (1920), 42 ff.), and one or two of his parallels are impressive, but the rest, in my opinion, are not convincing.

In the Life there is no account of Martin's death. But in a letter to Bassula, his mother-in-law, Severus describes the death scene at some length. It appears that Martin was sure of salvation and knew the time of his death long before it occurred. There is nothing, however, that can be called a valedictory.

Within a decade of the *Hilarion*, the *Historia Monachorum* was written, and by 420 the *Historia Lausiaca*<sup>58</sup> had been composed. In neither of these great hagiological sources is there anything that for method or content deserves comparison with the *Vita Antonii*. The 'Lives' are notices rather than biographies, anecdotic and inconclusive in method, dry in spirit, and monotonous in detail. In scope and method they bear a closer resemblance to the Alexandrian literary life than to the *Antonius*. Devils there are, especially the devils of lust. Evagrius in the *Lausiaca History* and John of Lycus in the *Monks' History* are particularly bedeviled, but even their experiences are far removed in number and significance from those of Antony.

The life of St. Augustine, written by his disciple, Possidius, shortly after the saint's death (430), though it contains a passing-scene of some length and interest, plays no great rôle in the Antonian tradition. It has little infernal fury. It deals not with devils, but with the deeds of a great man of religious affairs. Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa* (ca. 440) belongs to Eastern rather than Western hagiography. The life of Pachomius in its Greek, and probably primitive, form of the close of the fourth century, also is a document of the East. Early in the sixth century, however, Dionysius Exiguus produced in Latin a compilation of the Greek life and the *Asceticon of Pachomius*, which is the *Vita Pachomii* of Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum*. But neither the Greek life nor the Latin compilation can be said profoundly to realize the Antonian tradition. True, the original author, one who got his material from men who had known Pachomius, refers to the Athanasian life of Antony; true, the piety of the youthful hero is stressed, as

<sup>58</sup> The *Historia Monachorum*, the *Historia Lausiaca*, Cassian's *Institutes* and *Collations*, and the *Vita Antonii* fall together among the primary sources for the history of early Egyptian monasticism and monachism. On these and other primary and subsidiary sources, see Butler, *op. cit.*, I, 197 ff.

well as his conversion, his virtues as a novice, and his vocation to establish the cenobitic life; true, some of his miracles are detailed. But the Prologue, devoted to the beginnings of monasticism in Egypt, strikes an historical note that is prolonged in the body of the work by many chapters on the origin and extension of the Rule of Pachomius, the building of monasteries, and the winning of converts. The main interest, the very tone, of the work is institutional. Even the ascetic practices of the godly athletes are approached from the point of view of regulation rather than inspiration. The demoniasm is comparatively slight and quite accidental or disordered. The longest story of temptation is taken from the *Asceticon* and still retains the episodic, anecdotic air of that collection of loosely related stories. Nor are the assaults of the demons regarded as preparation for spiritual enlightenment. Even to the narrative of Pachomius' own experiences there is a casual character, due in part to the compilation, but going back to the same strain in the Greek, where it seems an effect of the preponderant interest in the institution. The outline of the *Vita Antonii* is present, but it is held loosely, while matters alien to the spirit of the *Antonius* but proper to the history of the founder of a 'rule,' are constantly intruded.

Still farther removed, in both spirit and form, is the *Vita Severini*, written in 511 by a friend of the saint, named Eugippius. The Prologue deals with sources; there is a valedictory and a death scene. But the spiritual growth of the saint is neglected, his youth and vocation are slighted, and devils are lacking. A profusion of miracles, quite in the way of Sulpitius Severus, Gregory of Tours, and of the later saints' lives, fills up the biography and detracts from interest and significance.<sup>59</sup>

It is a rather long step forward to the next items that claim our attention. Gregory of Tours (538-594) approaches biography in his *De Gloria Confessorum*, *De Gloria Martyrum*, *De Virtutibus*

<sup>59</sup> The *Vita Severini* is in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, 8 Jan., and in the *Corp. Script. Eccles. Lat.*, IX (2), 1886; there are also editions by Mommsen, and Saupe (*M. H. G.*). The *Augustinus* of Possidius is in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XXXII. The Greek life of Pachomius is in the *Acta SS.*, 14 May, App. 22\*, 44\*; the Latin version by D. Exiguus is in Rosweyd, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXXIII. On the MSS of the *Pachomius*, see C. Butler, *op. cit.*, I, 159 ff., 170 note, 288; II, ix ff.; and Ladeuze and Amelineau as cited by Butler.

*S. Martini, De Miraculis S. Juliani, and Vitae Patrum.*<sup>60</sup> But in spirit, scope, and method all these works are very different from the *Antonius*. They consist of very brief lives, or of long or short lists of miracles, including a roll of 206 performed by St. Martin after his death. Somewhat similar to the *Antony*, however, is a *Vita S. Aridii Abbatis* that has been attributed to Gregory, though in all probability it is not his. The prologue, and the story of the saint's youth, piety, and death may be reminiscent of Antony, but there is a dearth of devils. Nor can the prose Lives<sup>61</sup> attributed to Venantius Fortunatus be referred to the Antonian tradition. They, too, on the whole, are quite different in both plan and spirit. Most of them consist of a very short account of the birth of the saint and of his youthful virtues, wherein, of course, a similar but not significant ordering of matter is discernible, followed by long and heterogeneous lists of miracles. The Athanasian demonography and its fundamental conceptions are absent, and those other aspects which make up the special quality of the *Antonius* are either altogether absent, or, here and there, barely, as it were accidentally, touched upon. The Athanasian continuity is never present.

Toward the close of the sixth century Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues* told the story of St. Benedict's life. The spirit of the account is largely, and its plan partly, Antonian. It lacks a formal prologue, but the sources, which are oral, are indicated. It lacks also a definite vocation, lists of youthful virtues and ascetic practices, psychological realism in the demonology, the sermon, and the valedictory. But the Man-of-God motif engenders in every scene a noble grace and an idyllic piety. The moderation of Benedict's character and the tranquility of his spirit are in fortunate affinity with Gregory's own meditative serenity, and the writer's style fits his theme closely and beautifully. With loving eloquence he sketches the religious disposition of the young Benedict, his dissatisfaction with mere learning, the decision to renounce the world, the first and second withdrawals in search of virtue and solitude. The first retreat was to a church;

<sup>60</sup> H. L. Bordier, *Les livres des miracles . . . de G. F. Grégoire*, etc. (Paris, 1857-1864), 4 vols.; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXXI.

<sup>61</sup> Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXXXVIII.

the second to a wilderness, some forty miles from Rome, where the saint inhabited a cave at the foot of a precipice, receiving his loaves by means of a long rope let down from above. Antony, living in an old fort, the entrance to which he had walled up, also received bread by means of a cord let down from the top of the wall (c. 12).

Here, Benedict, foully tempted of lust by the devil, cured the pricks of the flesh, as we have already seen, by leaping into the brambles. By this one test he became such a master of virtue that God at once graced His servant by making him an agent of His miracles. Forthwith the stories of miracles and prophecies are piled up in romantic profusion, and we behold the people crowding upon the wonder-worker. Many of the tales have a refreshing naïveté, retaining a flavor of earth and the lore of the folk. Others are of the conventional order always to be met with in compositions of this kind, several being reminiscent of the *Antonius*,—in particular a vision of a soul carried to heaven in a fiery globe (c. 35), which recalls Antony's vision of the ascension of Amun's soul (c. 60). Attached to one of the anecdotes, however, is another assault of the devil. The "old enemy of mankind," distressed at Benedict's success in destroying a shrine of Apollo, appeared to the saint in fearful and threatening guise, complaining with a terrible outcry, which all the monks did hear though the demon was visible to Benedict alone, and cursing him for interfering with the devil's perquisites. So, too, in the *Vita Antonii* the devil complains of persecution (c. 6).

Thus Gregory has placed a single victory over the devil of lust as the all important step in ascending to virtue, and he has not cared either to multiply the steps or develop his demonology after the realistic, Antonian scheme. Moreover, he has definitely separated a second demonic attack from the first, making it subordinate to an anecdote of the saint's perfected powers.

Benedict, of course, foretold the day of his death, and two of his friends, though dwelling far apart one from the other, had an identical vision of the glorious path through the eastern sky by which the soul of Benedict ascended to heaven. But the valedictory, like the sermon, is missing.

Early in the seventh century Jonas, who became a monk of Bobbio three years after the death (615) of St. Columban, composed a life of that much traveled saint that bears obvious though not remarkable signs of relation to the *Antonius*. Indeed, in the preface to the second book the author inserts a brief list of former saints' lives, mentioning the *Vita Antonii*, the *Paul* and *Hilarion* of Jerome, and the *Martin* of Severus. The Prologue treats of sources, aim, and method, and in the order of incidents in the body of the work the Antonian outline is partly preserved, though there are several important additions, including a prodigy announcing the birth of the saint. Animal marvels—among them a story of how a thieving crow made off with Columban's glove, but later, humble and repentant, returned it—remind the reader of the *Antony* and of Gregory's *Benedict*, and anticipate a similar interest in the *Guthlac*. But Columban's asceticism is extreme, compared with Antony's, and there is no infernal realism, no specimen discourse, no valedictory, and only a very brief notice of the saint's death. Still greater is the difference in spirit and plan between the lives of two other famous Irish saints and the Antonian tradition. The Latin lives of St. Patrick, by Tírechán and Muirchu, written during the last three decades of the century and preserved in the *Book of Armagh*, do not reveal any leaning upon that tradition; and Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*, though it contains a long death scene and a short valedictory and refers briefly to vocation and ascetic rites, is in the main a collection, in three books, of prophecies, miracles, and angelic visitations.

Between 698 and 705, about 700 say the Bollandists, an unknown monk of Lindisfarne, devising a short life of St. Cuthbert, included in his Prologue a few words<sup>62</sup> from the Latin version of the *Antonius*. This borrowing, at first glance, spells close relationship. But further examination shows that in all the Life there is no other borrowing from or even parallel to Antonian matter. Moreover, the outline of the Life can hardly be deemed Antonian. The Prologue recites sources and methods, but is chiefly concerned with the author's apology. There is no distinct

<sup>62</sup> See above, note 5.

vocation and the miracles begin long after the religious life is assumed. There is no progressive search for solitude, only brief reference to ascetic exercises, and nothing is made of the driving of the devils from the island of Farne. There is little about the resorting of crowds to the holy man, there is no discourse, no valedictory, and the saint's death is skimped. But there is an Irish, or Gallic, plethora of marvels: miracles, prophecies, and visions take the place of spiritual struggle and development. The *Life* is a good example of the simpler brand of the common straightforward narrative of saints' wonders, without the Antonian spirit and evolution. Perhaps the isolated phrases from the *Antonius* were taken from some intermediate source.

Within a decade of the appearance of the anonymous life of the Lindisfarne bishop, that archbishop of grievances, Wilfrid, had died and his biography, by Eddius, had been written. A Wilfrid to match the northern Cuthbert! Such rivalry well may have occurred to Eddius, but at any rate he did not mind borrowing from the Lindisfarne *Vita*. Into his Prologue he copies a longish passage from the Cuthbert Prologue, including the sentences from the *Antonius*! Moreover, the Antonian phrases are taken over in the slightly abbreviated form in which they occur in the anonymous *Life*. But this passage is not the only one borrowed from the North. Raine, the editor of the *Wilfrid* in the *Rolls Chronicles*, has pointed out several other cases of indebtedness in the body of the work. But there is no other verbal indebtedness, direct or indirect, to the life of the Egyptian. At least the present writer has not discovered any. Nor do the plan and spirit of the work suggest Athanasius. There is no clear vocation, no spiritual crisis. Instead we are told that the handsome boy was driven from home by stepsister, or as another text has it, stepmother trouble. His virtues are dealt with briefly. The story dwells on his journeys to France and Rome, on his complicated if not compromising adventures at Lyons, on his episcopal appointment, on his second journey to Rome, and on the many disappointments at home. Search for solitude, dour Egyptian wrestling with incarnate evil in a remote wilderness, and the winning of a tranquil



spirit, belong not to Wilfrid's world. Missing, too, are the sermon and the valedictory, and the account of the last moments is exceedingly short. Here is the life not of a recluse, but of a bishop much troubled of the world!

Yet another decade and Bede's prose life of Cuthbert appears (*ca.* 720). Based in part on the previous anonymous *Life*, which it follows in substance but with very slight verbal similarity, and the naïveté of which it discards for a more dignified and expanded style, this famous *Vita Cuthberti* may be said, bishop's life though it is, really to approximate the Antonian tradition. After a prologue dealing with sources, purpose, method, and other matters, Bede makes his first move toward swinging the narrative to the Antonian model. The early marvels—the astounding prophecy of a three-year-old infant who tearfully begs the seven-year-old Cuthbert to desist from boyish games unbecoming a future bishop, the healing of young Cuthbert's crippled knee by an angel who comes riding by on a white horse, the vision of Aidann's soul ascending to Heaven, the miraculous supply of food in the thatched roof—these wonders are interpreted collectively as the divine vocation. By them the Lord summoned His servant to seek the joys of everlasting blessedness. Ingenious use of the old fabulous tales! whereby the scenes of vocation are painted clearly enough, though there is to be sure some vagueness in the spiritual crisis thus foisted upon the wonderful boy. Into the monastery goes Cuthbert. The virtues he there displayed are recited. But the stories of his miracles intrude here, before any satanic struggles are narrated, even as they tend to overrun all parts of the biography. Then we hear of his success as a missionary; then of more miracles. He is sent to Lindisfarne, where his longing for the ascetic regimen is at last fulfilled in stern practice. In search of greater solitude, he retires to the Island of Farne, and there he wrestles with demons. But Bede tells us little more of those lonely, sea-girt adventures than does the anonymous biographer. This is the least Antonian part of the narrative. The devils, at any rate, are put to flight. Then comes another lot of miracles. Crowds resort to the holy one, and Bede adds to the older *Life* a

section that not only describes in a general way the sermons Cuthbert preached but also bears distinct verbal reminiscences of one of Antony's discourses. Nor is this the only verbal reminiscence or parallel, as we have already seen. After the sermon comes another batch of miracles, and then, the most distinguished feature of the Life, a long death scene, including a valedictory, of which a part has been given above. Cuthbert, having foreknowledge of his death, resolved to lay aside the cares of his pastoral office, and to seek again the strife of the hermit's life which was always so dear to him. Back he went to his island and his cell. There he triumphed in a final struggle with the cohorts of evil. There the Man of God, whose sanctity and sincerity Bede has eulogized, with a glad tranquility met "the day of his death, or rather of his life in Heaven." Is it not fairly clear that Bede's *Cuthbert* has realized much of the plan and spirit of the *Vita Antonii*?

Up, then, to the beginning of the eighth century, beyond which the present study does not extend, there are, with reference to the influence of the *Antonius*, three groups of saints' lives: one lying almost wholly outside the Antonian tradition and consisting of compilations of brief biographical and bibliographical notices or lists of marvels and martyrs (Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*, the *Historia Monachorum* and *Historia Lausiaca*, some of the works of Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus, Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*, etc.), and lives of bishops and other great men of large religious affairs (Possidius' *St. Augustine*, Eddius' *Wilfrid*, etc.); another, bearing perhaps a few superficial resemblances to the *Antonius*, but quite missing its inner spirit and meaning (Jerome's *Paul*, the *Life of Pachomius*, the *Severinus*, the Lindisfarne *Cuthbert*, Jonas' *St. Columban*, etc.); and a third, certainly imitative of the *Antonius*, some of them with verbal borrowings or parallels, all of them partaking to some degree of the spirit as well as the outer plan of the Athanasian model (Jerome's *Hilarion*, Severus' *Martin*, Gregory's *Benedict*, and Bede's *Cuthbert*). In this last group the *Guthlac* of Felix must now be placed.

Its place, so far as fidelity and completeness of imitation of the *Antonius* are concerned, is easily first in this group. Jerome, while

following the general plan of the *Antonius*, and thus assisting in the standardization of the Antonian formula for eremitical biography, misses the moderation in discipline and the fine tranquility of the *Vita Antonii*, and for the psychological realism of its demonology substitutes an indiscriminate and puerile collection of marvels. Severus, writing the life of a bishop, adopts the eremitical formula as far as he can, penetrating farther than did Jerome into the ideals of solitude, moderation, and tranquility, but like him displaying a vague and romantic, rather than psychological, interest in demons and miracles. Gregory, in spiritual affinity with the serene idealism of the *Antonius*, sacrifices much of the outer formula to his inclination lovingly to enter into the spiritual grace of his Benedict. In particular he has neglected the rationale of the Athanasian demonology, minimizing the temptations of lust and piling up miracles in romantic, not to say undignified, profusion. Bede swings a bishop's life toward the Antonian model, and stresses moderation and the "*heitere Stille der Seele*"; but he, also, permits his demons and miracles to overrun the entire biography, dealing most faintly with those demons of solitude which are most impressive in the *Antonius*.

In the *Guthlac*, however, we have found not only a more complete following, part for part, of the plan of the *Antonius* than in any of the other four works of this group; not only a greater reliance upon the actual text of the *Vita Antonii*: but also a notable penetration into the ideals of discipline and tranquility; and a very remarkable preservation of the Antonian demonology, in all its dramatic detail, grotesquely exaggerated, to be sure, but with much of its psychological realism, and with some insight into the Athanasian concept that victory over the fiends of solitude marks the attainment of a spiritual majority. Felix does not scatter his demons and miracles indiscriminately over the biographical course. The conquest of self in the fight with the demons of solitude eventuates, as in the *Antonius*, in an access of miraculous power. So much for the closer and profounder imitation in the *Guthlac*, in respect of which, and only in respect of which, I have presumed to place it in the front rank of the five lives of this Antonian group.

In respect of intrinsic literary quality and originality of thought no such claim is advanced. Yet the more compressed and unified narrative that Felix has obtained by omitting the long sermons and refraining from the repetitions of the *Antonius*, and his surprisingly dramatic and poetic development of the theme of the saint's death, entitle him to no hesitating commendation for originality and narrative technique. Is there, all things considered, a more notable follower and modifier of the *Vita Antonii* in Western hagiography of the first seven centuries? The *Guthlac*, in spite of its naiveté and extravagance of style, appears to the present writer to be the first saint's life in the West and within its special sphere that can be said to be truly commensurate with the *Antonius*, however widely that model was known in previous hagiography and copied in practical eremitism.

But the Antonian tradition, which the *Guthlac* has so well fulfilled, is older than Antony and Athanasius. It goes deep into life and far back into history. In a continuity of pagan and Christian ascetic practice and mystical ideals, repeatedly culminating in a Man-of-God legend, that tradition has developed from remote origins. From the Cynics and Pythagoreans, to say nothing of older sources in the East, from Neopythagoreans and Neoplatonists, from the saints of the Gospels and the Christian hermits of Egypt, down to the Croyland solitary, and beyond to yet later adepts, the *vis et spiritus* of the tradition have been maintained in experience. The experience has again and again been projected into letters. Art has interpreted reality and dreams in the light of it. Its vocation to become the servant of the Eternal continues to lure men to loneliness. Its devils of wanhope and sloth, of lust and fear, of anger and covetousness, of gluttony, vainglory, and pride, still assail us. Still we hear the voices of the spirit; still discipline is necessary, the athletics of mind and emotion. The mystery of life is ever more mysterious; and to be profoundly, imaginatively aware of it, is still to be God-conscious. And more and more significant become the lives of those who, having done battle with themselves, in some degree have escaped the lower servitude. Antony and Guthlac may wear an ancient

dress in a strange wilderness. But Athanasius and Felix divined and preserved their humanity, as fresh and significant today as over twelve hundred years ago. *Mutatis mutandis!*

In conclusion a few words must be hazarded in estimate of a famous poetic fingering of the themes we have been tracing,—the Anglo-Saxon poem, or poems, known as *Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B*. However imaginatively Athanasius or Felix, or other biographers, may have elaborated these themes, their purpose was always primarily that of rehearsing the facts—the edifying facts—of the life of a Man of God. They set out to write instructive biographies. But neither of these two old English poems is concerned to deliver a methodical, complete biography of the Anglian saint. What, then, has been made of the eleven aspects we have traced from Athanasius to Felix?

The vexed problem of the authorship of these poems fortunately does not enter into this question. Whether Cynewulf was the author of both poems, or of neither, or, as present criticism is inclined to hold, of the *B* poem, but not of *A*, does not affect the question of what the poet or poets, whoever they were, actually made out of the salient aspects of this biographical tradition. But the debate over the sources of the poems does concern the present thesis. That *Guthlac B* derives from Felix there is no doubt. The verbal similarities and the identity in narrative sequence make it perfectly clear that *B* is a free paraphrase of a portion of the thirty-fifth section of Felix's *Guthlac*. But the case for the *A* poem is by no means so clear. Forstmann, Gerould, and others have debated the possibility and probability of *A* having been drawn from Felix. The result of the discussion appears to be that no proof has been adduced to show that *A* could not have been derived in part, at least, from Felix, or that any part of it must have been derived from him.<sup>63</sup> Under the

<sup>63</sup> Forstmann (*Bonner Beiträge*, XII, 1902) argues for the independence of the poem and cites the previous literature on the question. Gerould, having admitted in a complimentary review of Forstmann (*Eng. Studien*, XXXIV, 95-97) that the evidence for the independence of *A* is weighty, changes his mind in his *Saints' Legends*, pp. 79-85 (1916), and gives his reasons for the change in a carefully considered and admirably clear article in *M. L. N.*, XXXII, 77-89 (1917). The present writer believes, however, that the parallel passages cited by Gerould in his article are not sufficiently similar to prove derivation.

circumstances it seems wise, until some actual evidence to the contrary is discovered, to take at face value the implication of certain lines (79-81, 124-125, 372-373, 724-726) of the poem itself to the effect that it was derived from oral tradition. The *B* poem, on the other hand, makes definite mention (ll. 849-851) of literary sources.

At any rate, whether the *A* poem goes back to Felix or not, its spirit, its method, and its details are as far from the Antonian tradition as the mood of the chief incident of the *B* poem is close to it. In that fact, which a few words will demonstrate, some minds may detect further reason for suspecting the relation that has been assumed between the *Vita* and *Guthlac A*.

The difference in spirit is striking, though a purpose of edification is present. A militant mind, of a sort, stands behind *Guthlac A*. No Felix or Athanasius, trained to the Church ideal of humility and long-suffering, praises a patient, much enduring saint as a model for the Christian anchorite. But a mind that delights in epics of conflict and in the heroic ideal of the fighting champion, has converted Guthlac into a mighty man of action, a protagonist, said to be almost contemporary, in the supreme war of the ages. For now, in these latter days, evil triumphs on every side. The world is full of trouble. Truth and goodness are falling, falling. This is the degenerate age foretold in Holy Writ. Into the midst of this terrible conflict treads Guthlac, the champion of God, *godes oretta, cristes cempa*, unafraid, mightily daring, ever victorious. The hosts of hell cannot prevail against him. He never hesitates before them; he is not lured, even for a moment, by their vain shows and promises. Fear and temptation are swallowed up in the ecstasy of victory. Nay, the devils are more harried than harrying. Theirs are the heavy hearts and woeful souls. Shrieking and wailing is their part, for the battles go against them instantaneously, utterly. Their complete inferiority to the Saint is never for a moment in doubt. Guthlac's arrogant derision of the fiends, in those long epic speeches the poet has composed for him, adds insult to ruin. In fine flying style the champion boasts of his own valor and destiny, vilifies the reputa-

tion of his enemies, reminds them of previous defeat, and taunts them with eternal damnation. A far cry is this boasting truculency from the "*heitere Stille*" of the Antonian ideal.

To this epic praise of "the one great warrior known within our times" (ll. 372-373) all else is made subservient. The Prologue sets the scene of war and discovers the combatants. The birth and early history of the hero, his religious vocation, his virtues as a novice and the story of his novitiate and of his search for solitude, his asceticism, his miracles and prophecies, his healing of the sick in body and infirm of soul, his sermons,—each of these phases of the biography is either exceedingly reduced or altogether omitted. In place of the biographer's lengthened narrative of Guthlac's pious death, the poet in nine lines (753-761) asserts that Guthlac received his reward from his Over-Lord, the Warden of Heaven's realm, and concludes with twenty-nine lines (762-790) of edification. If it be remembered that in addition to these notable supplements and omissions, the order of the devil scenes is not kept, that many of them are omitted and others added, and that the setting of the action is a mountain in a pleasant plain, instead of the noxious fens, the difference between the biography and the poem appears so great as indeed to cast serious doubt upon the assumption of literary indebtedness.

*Guthlac A*, then, is not another document in the realization of the Antonian tradition of biography. It is a poetic vision, new and northern, of the saintly anchorite as a greatly performing, never hesitating champion of the Almighty Over-Lord. But *Guthlac B*, deriving directly from a part of the *Vita Guthlaci*, as indicated above, remains faithful to the pervading religious mood of the biography while dwelling in detail upon its concluding phase. The poet has nobly and dramatically augmented the spiritual fervor and grace of the death scene. With eager and picturesque phrases he stresses the sudden onrush of greedy Death, the blithe courage and ineffable faith with which Guthlac masters every fear and pain, the great grief of his servant, the loving gentleness of the saint's valedictory and the lyric ardor of his expectancy of rest and eternal life, and the marvels of celestial glory that

attend the liberation of his soul. But it is only the one scene that the poet has chosen for his intenser management, and that the scene in which Felix has gone farthest in enhancing the effect of his Antonian model. There is even less of biography than in the *A* poem. There are the briefest of references to Guthlac's miracles and conflicts with the fiends,—mere allusions in passing, by way of noting the greatness of the Man of God<sup>64</sup> whose death is to be described. The composition is not so much another document in biography as a poetic management, dramatically unified and profoundly elaborated, of one of the most significant of the several phases of the biography. *Guthlac A* is a lyric-epic eulogy of Guthlac as a great fighter; *Guthlac B* is a lyric-epic presentation of the death of a blessed servant of the Lord. Neither is, primarily, in comparison with the *Vita*, biographical. Neither is concerned with the Antonian formula. One imports a different ideal; the other intensifies a special phase of the Antonian ideal. Both are poems,—poetic transformations of the Antonian tradition. Both transcend the purpose of edification by the vividness of their moods and the clearness of their vision.

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<sup>64</sup> Guthlac is called a champion or warrior several times, but not nearly so often as in the other poem; and in the main he is regarded as the holy one of God, the dear and blessed teacher, the comforter of the weary and helper of his friends, the modest, mild-hearted, enduring servant of the Lord, the possessor of mystic wisdom. This is the tone of the *Vita Antonii*.



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**NEMOURS H. CLEMENT**

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# THE INFLUENCE OF THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES ON THE FIVE BOOKS OF RABELAIS

BY  
NEMOURS H. CLEMENT

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Rabelais' literary work, relatively slender though it is, presents such a varied panorama of man and nature that it offers scholarship a fertile field for study and investigation. Rabelais gathered the material that he embodied in his work from all conceivable sources, and he used it with such lavishness and confusion that he has always appeared an enigma to commentators.<sup>1</sup> At first sight his work has the air of a *fatrasie*, a species of composition common in the Middle Ages. In the last two decades, however, scholarship has busied itself more and more with restoring order in this apparent chaos, and several views have been set forth in attempts to show a fundamental and definite plan in the author's mind. Most of these views have been only incidentally expressed in works of a general nature on Rabelais; one has been presented as a formal interpretation of his work. These views are four.

The first is the theory that Rabelais' work is an imitation of the *Macaronics* of Folengo. Louis Thuasne holds to this theory probably more strongly than any other scholar.

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<sup>1</sup> See Henry Osborn Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century* (1920), I, chap. 13: "He has been a much commented on puzzle ever since he lived and wrote that book which seems to hold all life from the cloaca to the heavens."

Tout le roman de Rabelais [he says] se ressent du poème de Folengo, et particulièrement le livre iv. Mais cette influence, plus ou moins sensible, est toujours appréciable. On sent que Rabelais était pénétré de la lecture du *Baldo*, et l'on retrouve dans le *Gargantua* et le *Pantagruel* non seulement des épisodes mais aussi des procédés de composition et d'exposition, et dominant le tout, les mêmes tendances philosophiques et sociales, le même souffle de l'esprit nouveau.<sup>2</sup>

De Sanctis also has expressed the same view in a chapter on Folengo. "Il suo imitatore e continuatore," he says, "è Rabelais che ha la stessa maniera."<sup>3</sup> This view, which is very old, had its origin in the French translation of the *Baldus*, published in 1606. On the title page, under the name of the author, the publisher inserted these words, "Prototype de Rabelais." Lazare Sainéan warmly combats this view:

. . . des générations de critiques l'ont répété à tour de rôle [he says], et comme les points de contacts réels entre les deux oeuvres sont extrêmement limités, on s'est ingénié à multiplier les rapprochements au risque de tomber dans l'in vraisemblance et l'absurde.<sup>4</sup>

But Sainéan, in his zeal to claim for Rabelais a greater measure of originality than he is entitled to, frequently goes beyond bounds and denies the obvious. Charles Lenient makes a more moderate criticism of this theory than Sainéan. He says:

L'auteur du *Gargantua* ne doit guère plus à Pierre Faifeu qu' à Merlin Coccaie. Il leur emprunte comme Molière emprunte à Cyrano de Bergerac. Le talent des écrivains est ici trop inégal pour songer un instant à les comparer.<sup>5</sup>

The second theory is that Rabelais was imitating the *Macaronics*, the popular romances, above all the *Grandes Chroniques*, and the Italian comic romances. This view is sponsored by Jean Plattard,<sup>6</sup> who remarks that the *Macaronics*, appearing in 1517, had gone through three editions by 1532, and the *Morgante* through eleven editions between 1481 and 1531, and that it had been translated into French in 1519. Folengo is mentioned

<sup>2</sup> *Etudes sur Rabelais*, 176-177, 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Storia della letteratura italiana*, chap 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, X, 375, at p. 399. See also from the same author, *La Langue de Rabelais*, I, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *La Satire en France . . . au seizième siècle* (1877), 59.

<sup>6</sup> *L'Oeuvre de Rabelais*, 1-25.



three times by Rabelais (II, 1, 7; III, 2) and the *Morgante* twice (II, 1, 30). Plattard categorically affirms the relationship between Rabelais and the Italian romances in these words:

C'est de ces épopées heroï-comiques que procède directement la 'Geste des Géants' dont Rabelais a fait le cadre de son roman. Ces romans lui ont donné l'idée de sa fiction principale, les prouesses des géants. Puis d'instinct pour accorder le ton du récit à la nature du sujet traité, il a imité quelques traits de la manière de ses modèles.<sup>7</sup>

The third theory is that Rabelais was inspired by the prose adaptations of the *chansons de geste*, the so-called Romances of Chivalry. This is the view generally current. It has been held by Jean Fleury<sup>8</sup> and Heinrich Schneegans,<sup>9</sup> among others, in the past, and recently Emile Besch<sup>10</sup> and Arthur Tilley<sup>11</sup> have maintained it in articles on the Romances of Chivalry published about Rabelais' time. "On peut dire," says Besch, "que le *Gargantua* et le *Pantagruel* ne sont d'un bout à l'autre, mais principalement dans les deux premiers livres, qu'une parodie des romans de chevalerie." Tilley sets forth this view very succinctly:

C'est peut-être le commerce avec Nourry qui a détourné Rabelais des romans de la Table Ronde, sous l'influence desquels il avait composé ou réédité *Les Grandes et inestimables chroniques*, vers les romans fondés sur les *chansons de geste* qui ont plutôt inspiré le *Pantagruel*.

Plattard on the other hand thinks that the parody of the Romances of Chivalry is far less developed in Rabelais than in the Italian romances.

The fourth theory is that Rabelais was inspired by the geographical discoveries of the day: that in the five books he makes Pantagruel circumnavigate the globe (*a*) by the route around the Cape of Good Hope (II, 24), and (*b*) by the route through the Northwest Passage. Of the different theories this last has been

<sup>7</sup> In *E. E. R.*, X, 375, L. Sainéan refuses to credit Pulci, Bojardo, and Ariosto with a single borrowing by Rabelais.

<sup>8</sup> *Rabelais et ses oeuvres*, I, 81.

<sup>9</sup> *Geschichte der grotesken Satire*, pt. 2, chap. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, III, 155.

<sup>11</sup> *E. S. S.*, VI, 61. See also W. F. Smith, *Rabelais in his Writings*, 20, 21, 27, etc.

elaborated the most. To it Abel Lefranc devotes an entire book, after having first sketched it in two articles in the *Revue de Paris* (Feb. 1 and 15, 1904). This theory is the development of a hint Lefranc got from Margry, who, in his book, *Les Navigations françaises et la révolution maritime du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (pp. 225-341), had sought to identify Jamet Brahier, the pilot of the second voyage, with Jacques Cartier, and Xenomanes with Jean-Alfonse de Saintonge. On the voyage to Utopia in II, 24, Lefranc expresses himself in these terms:

Il n'est pas douteux qu'en le faisant voguer si loin, Rabelais ait obéi au désir de révéler au prince idéal de la Renaissance la route de l'Inde découverte par les Portugais, et suivie déjà par plusieurs marins de notre pays.<sup>12</sup>

Concerning the voyage to the Dive Bouteille, he says:

Il [Rabelais] adopte l'itinéraire [the Northwest Passage] passionnément et jalousement cherché par les différentes nations européennes et bravement il le fait réaliser par son héros.<sup>13</sup>

In his book, *Les Navigations de Pantagruel*, he asserts at p. 23:

D'un côté [the voyage in Book II] et de l'autre [the voyage to the Dive Bouteille] les découvertes géographiques fournissent la trame légère sur laquelle brode la prodigieuse imagination de l'Aristophane moderne, et qu'il ne perd jamais de vue.

These "systems" all explain in varying degrees different aspects of Rabelais' work. In each case, however, there is so considerable a residue of the five books left unexplained that none of them seems wholly convincing. More fundamental than any of the theories just sketched, and accounting, it is believed, for a far larger portion of Rabelais' work than any of them, is the thesis herewith set forth:

Rabelais' work constitutes a burlesque imitation of the French medieval romances, but particularly of the romances of the Round Table:

<sup>12</sup> *R. de P.*, Feb. 1, 1904. Cf. Lefranc's views with those of Tilley in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 1906-1910, in a series of articles entitled "Rabelais and Geographical Discovery," now pp. 26-65 in his *Studies in the French Renaissance*.

<sup>13</sup> *R. de P.*, Feb. 1, 15, 1904.

(a) Books I and II are an imitation of the Arthurian Romances in general, of which the *Great Prose Lancelot* is a representative specimen;

(b) Books III, IV, and V are an imitation of the Grail-quest romances.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Not inconsistent with the four theories sketched above and the fifth, proposed by the writer, is the traditional view that Rabelais' work is a *roman à clef*. W. F. Smith, *Rabelais in his Writings*, p. 38, sees the genesis of this idea in the genealogy of Pantagruel (II, 1): "Rabelais gives fifty-nine giants, making the last two to be Gargantua and Pantagruel, thus for a long time inducing the belief that these two represented Francis I and Henry II throughout, and causing numberless 'keys' to all the characters to be prepared and advocated by their authors." Gottlob Regis more than any other has pressed this view in his great edition of Rabelais. Moland, Introduction pp. XLIII-XLIV, gives the key current in the seventeenth century.

## CHAPTER II

THE ROMANCES PRINTED UP TO 1553 AND THE  
REFERENCES TO THEM IN THE FIVE BOOKS

It is too well known to require more than a casual mention that under Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, an effort was made to revive the spirit of chivalry in France, which indeed seemed for a time to shine with renewed brightness, only quickly to suffer final extinction. The beginning of this effort coincides with the introduction of printing into France; as a consequence, romances were among the chief productions of the new presses. Up to 1553 fully eighty-five of them, not counting translations, were published, and almost all of them went through several editions. *Les quatre fils Aymon* and *Fierabras*, for instance, enjoyed twenty-five editions each in the sixteenth century. Though a few of these romances were of recent composition, like the *Mabrian* and *Le petit Artus de Bretagne*, the greater number were adaptations in prose of old French epics and romances.

These adaptations show two primary types:

First, adaptations of *chansons de geste*. These began to appear about 1430. The adapters made many changes in the old *chansons*, introducing into them elements foreign to them and drawn from the romances of the Round Table. The amorous adventures, the long descriptions of tourneys, and the marvelous, properly the *matière* of the Arthurian Romances, frequently were incorporated and given prominence in these adaptations, which in a few cases were made to fit, and with scant success, into the framework of the Arthurian Romance. The hybrid which resulted is generally known as the Romance of Chivalry. A better name would be Gest Romances, and under this name they are listed below.

Second, adaptations of the romances of the Round Table. In general, these seem to have suffered little alteration at the hands of the adapters, as they already contained the elements which the taste of their readers demanded. The chief change made in them was to rationalize to some slight extent their marvelous, in order to bring it more into harmony with the realistic temper of the times.

Herewith is appended a fairly complete list of the romances of all types which appeared in print up to and through 1553, the year of Rabelais' death.<sup>1</sup> In the column to the right are placed the allusions found in the five books to each one of the romances mentioned in Rabelais.

## GEST ROMANCES

Beuves d'Anthone	c. 1500	
Charlemagne et les douze pairs de France	?	
Chronique de Turpin	1476	II, 29: "Ce pendant Panurge contoit les fables de Turpin."
La conquête de Trebisonde	1483	I, 33: "Allons nous, dist Picrochole, rendre à eux le plus tost, car je veulx estre aussi empereur de Trebisonde."
Doolin de Mayence	1501	
Fierabras (La conquête du grand roi Charlemagne des Espagnes)	1486	Prologue de l'auteur, Book II: ". . . Fierabras . . ." II, 1: "Qui engendra Fierabras Qui engendra Sortibrant de Conimbres Qui engendra Brushant de Mommier . . ." II, 30: "Neron estoit vieilleux et Fierabras son varlet."

<sup>1</sup> Several classified lists of these romances have been attempted, the most complete being that of Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Essai de classification méthodique et synoptique des romans de chevalerie publiés et inédités* (Paris, 1870). Tilley's list in *E. S. S.* VI, 45, is helpful. See also L. Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises*, ed. 2, II, 609 *seq.*, and Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, Index. In making this present list the writer has followed chiefly Didot and Tilley. The reader scarcely needs be warned that all the classifications thus far attempted are unsatisfactory.

- Galien rethoré 1500 II, 30: "Galien restauré, preneur de taulpes."  
The *gab* in II, 24, can be only from *Galien rethoré*. But *gabs* frequently occur in the romances: Sommer IV, 266; *Méragis* II, 1777 *seq.*
- Gérard d'Euphrate 1549
- Girard de Roussillon 1530
- Godefroy de Bouillon: Prologue de l'auteur, Book II: ". . . Matabrune . . ." (a character in *Helyas*).  
Helyas  
Enfances Godefroy  
Antioche II, 30: "Godefroy de Billon, dominotier."  
Chétifs  
Jérusalem 1504 "Baudoin estoit manillier."  
v, 2: "Peu de doubte fismes des enfants Matabrune convertis en cygnes . . ."
- Guerin de Monglave 1518 II, 1: "Qui engendra Roboastre . . ." (a character in *Guerin de Monglave*).
- Huon de Bordeaux 1513 Prologue de l'auteur Book II: ". . . Huon de Bordeaux . . ."  
II, 1: "Qui engendra Galaffre . . ." (a character in *Huon de Bordeaux*).  
II, 30: "Huon de Bordeaux estoit relieur de tonneaulx."
- Jourdain de Blaives 1520
- Mabrian, fils de Renaud 1530
- Maugis d'Aigremont c. 1537
- Meurvin, fils d'Ogier 1539
- Milles et Amis c. 1503
- Morgant le géant 1519 II, 1: "Qui engendra Morgan . . ."  
II, 30: "Morgant, brasseur de bière."  
II, 30: "Il le declaira heretique et l'eust fait brusler vif n'eust esté Morgant . . ."
- Ogier le Danois 1498 II, 1: "Qui engendra Bruyer, lequel fut vaincu par Ogier le Danois . . ."  
II, 23: "Peu de temps après, Pantagruel ouit nouvelles que son pere Gargantua avoit esté translaté au pays des Phées par Morgue, comme fut jadis Ogier et Artus . . ."  
II, 30: "Ogier le Danois estoit fourbisseur de harnois."

Les quatre fils Aymon:		
Part 1, Renaud de		I, 27: "Jamais Maugis hermite ne se
Montauban		porta si vaillamment a tout son
Part 2, Maugis d'Ai-		bourdon contre les Sarrasins, des-
gremont	1480	quelz est escriptz es gestes des
		quatre filz Aymon . . . ."
		II, 30: "Les quatre filz Aymon,
		arracheurs de dents."
		Prologue de l'auteur, Book III: ". . .
		je feray . . . . ce que fit Regnauld de
		Montauban . . . ."

## ROMANCES OF ANTIQUITY

Apollin, roi de Tyr	?	
La destruction de		
Jerusalem	1491	
Eneide	1481	II, 30: "Dido vendoit des mous-
		serons."
Florimont	1528	
Hector de Troie (an episode		
from <i>Recueil des histoires</i>		
<i>de Troie</i> )	?	
Hercules (an extract from		
the <i>Recueil de Troie</i> )	1502	
L'hystoire d'Alexandre	1506	
Jason et Médée	1474	
Judas Machabée	1513	
Les neuf preux	1487	
Les sept sages	1492	
Les trois grands	?	
Recueil des histoires de		
Troie	1529	
Virgile	?	

## ARTHURIAN ROMANCES

Clériadus et Méliadice	1495	
Giglan, fils de Gauvain, et Geoffroy de Mayence	1530	II, 30: "Giglan et Gauvain estoient pauvres porchiers."
Gyron le courtois (second part of <i>Palamèdes</i> )	1501	
L'hystoire du Saint Graal, ensemble La Queste dudit Saint Graal. The <i>Hystoire</i> is derived from three sources:		To <i>L'hystoire</i> , to the <i>Lancelot</i> , and possibly to the <i>Perceval</i> must be referred the passages relative to the Holy Grail in IV, 42, 43, and V, 10.
1. Le Grand Saint Graal		
2. Perlesvaus		
3. La Queste du Saint Graal <sup>2</sup>	1516	
Lancelot du Lac:		I, 14: ". . . Gualehaut . . ."
Parts 1 and 2, the Lance- lot proper—the <i>enfances</i> and <i>Guenevere</i>		II, 1: "Qui engendra Gallehaut . . ."
Part 3, Agravain the Proud		II, 23, See under <i>Ogier le Danois</i> above.
Part 4, La Queste du Saint Graal		II, 30: "Lancelot du Lac escorcheur de chevaux morts."
Part 5, Morte Arthur	1498	
Merlin avec les Propheties	1498	I, 58: ". . . le style est de Merlin le prophete . . ."
Méliadus de Leonnoys (first part of <i>Palamèdes</i> )	1532	
Le noble chevalier Gauvain	1540	
Perceforest	1528	II, 30: "Perceforest porteur de coustrets . . ."
		II, 30: "Il rencontra Perceforest pissant contre une muraille."
Perceval le Gallois (pre- ceded by l'Elucidation du Saint Graal)	1530	
Le petit Artus de Bretagne	1493	II, 30: "Artus de Bretagne estoit gresseur de bonnetz."
Pontus et Sidoine	?	
Tristan, fils de Méliadus	1489	
Ysaie le Triste	1522	

<sup>2</sup> The *Grand Saint Graal* is the work Sommer calls the *Estoire du Saint Graal*; this *Queste* is not the *Queste* forming Part 4 of the *Lancelot*, it is an abridgement of the *Perlesvaus* and the *Queste* of the *Lancelot*.



ROMANCES OF ADVENTURE<sup>3</sup>

Baudoyne, comte de Flandre	1478	
Berinus	1521	
La Chastelaine du Vergier (de Vergy)	1540	
Clamades et Claremonde	1480	
La Conqueste de Grèce par Philippe de Madien	1527	
La Conqueste que le Che- valier Coeur d'Amour fist d'une dame appelée Doucemercy	1503	
Eurial et Lucesse	?	II, 30: "Lucesse, hospitaliere."
Florent et Lyon	1532	
Geoffroy à la grant dent	1525	II, 5: "En après lisant les chroniques de ses ancestres, trouva que Geoffroy de Lusignan, dict Geoffroy à la grant dent . . . ."
Gerard de Nevers (Roman de la Violette)	1520	
Guerin mesquin	1530	
Guillaume de Palerme	1552	
Guy de Warwich	1525	
Helayne de Constantinople	1528	
Jehan de Paris	c. 1525	II, 30: "Jehan de Paris estoit gresseur de bottes."
Jehan de Saintré	1517	
Le livre des trois fils de roi	1501	
Melusine	1478	II, 30: "Melusine estoit souillarde de cuisine." IV, 38: "Là trouverez tesmoings vieux . . . . lesquelz jureront . . . . que Melusine, leur fondatrice, avoit corps feminin jusques aux bursa- vitz, et que le reste en bas estoit andouille serpentine ou bien serpent andouillicque."
Paris et Vienne	1487	
Philandre	1544	

<sup>3</sup>Here taken in two senses, (a) "aventure d'amour" and (b) chivalric adventure unconnected with knight-errantry. These two elements are often found mingled, as in *Méluſine* and *Jehan de Saintré*.

Pierre de Provence	c. 1478	
La plaisante histoire du Chevalier doré et de la pucelle surnommée Coeur d'acier	1542	
Richart, fils de Robert le Diable	c. 1530	
Richard sans peur	1540	
Robert le Diable	1496	Prologue de l'auteur, Book II: ". . . . Robert le Diable . . . ."
Syperis de Vinevaux	1540	
Theseus de Cologne	1534	
Valentin et Orson	1489	II, 24: "Et ne crains ni traict, ni flesche, ny cheval tant soit legier, et fust ce Pegase ou Pacolet . . . ." (Pacolet is an enchanter who rides a magical wooden horse in <i>Valentin et Orson</i> , chap. 24.)

UNCLASSIFIED<sup>4</sup>

Bayart	?
Bertrand du Guesclin	c. 1480
Le Chevalier délibéré	1493
Chronique de Normandie	1487
Maistre Renart et Dame Hersent	?
Passages de outremer de Godefroy	1505
Le Roman de la Rose	1485
La Toison d'or	1516

In addition to the foregoing French romances, the following romances were translated from the Spanish between the years 1530 and 1553:

Amadis de Gaule (first four books)	1540-1544	} by Herberay des Essarts
Amadis de Grèce	1546	
A sequel to Amadis de Grèce	1548	
Esplandian	1544	
Flores de Grèce	1552	
Perion et Lisuart de Grèce	1548	

<sup>4</sup> Didot calls these (with the exception of *Bayart*, which he does not list) "Chroniques fabuleuses ou romanesques."

La déplorable fin de Flamète	1535	by Maurice Scève
Florisel de Niquée	1552	by Gilles Boileau
Suite de Florisel	1552	by Jacques Gohory
Primaléon de Grèce	1550	by François de Vernassal
Le jugement d'amour	1530	
Méliadus, le Chevalier de la Croix	1534	
Olivier de Castille	1482	
Palmerin d'Angleterre	1553	
Palmerin d'Olive	1546	by Jean Maugin

Tabulating the conclusions deducible from the preceding list, we find that Rabelais was acquainted with as many as twenty-five romances which, from the allusions he makes to them, are to be distributed as follows:

The romances he read with cer- tainty	The romances he read with rea- sonable certain- ty	The romances he probably read	The romances that possibly he read
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#### GEST ROMANCES

Fierabras	Chronique de Turpin	La Conquête de Trebisonde
Galien rethoré		
Godefroy de Bouillon		
Guerin de Monglave		
Huon de Bordeaux		
Morgant le géant		
Ogier le Danois		
Les quatre fils Aymon		

#### ROMANCES OF ANTIQUITY

Enéide

ARTHURIAN ROMANCES<sup>5</sup>

Lancelot du Lac	Artus de Bretagne	Giglan, fils de Gauvain	Gauvain
Merlin	L'hystoire du Saint Graal		
Perceforest	Perceval		

## ROMANCES OF ADVENTURE

Geoffroy à la grant dent	Jehan de Paris	Robert le Diable	Eurial et Lucesse
Melusine			
Valentin et Orson			

The preceding list and table show how extensive was Rabelais' acquaintance with the romances so greatly in vogue in his time, yet neither indicates his real indebtedness to them. Of the twenty-five romances in the table, nineteen are mentioned in the *Pantagruel*. It is clear, consequently, that when Rabelais wrote the second book he was greatly preoccupied with the romances. The purpose of this study is to show that they influenced very profoundly not only the *Pantagruel* and the *Gargantua*, but the remaining three books as well, and to allocate to each of the various types of romances its due proportion of influence in Rabelais' work.

<sup>5</sup> The not inconsiderable knowledge of the Grail that Rabelais exhibits would seem to indicate that he must have used other romances as sources besides the *Lancelot* and the *Merlin*. In neither of these, for instance, is the Grail endowed with prophetic power, whereas it possesses this power in *L'hystoire du Saint Graal*.

Nor need it be concluded that Rabelais read only printed romances, as evidence is not wanting that the romances were read in manuscript for some time after they appeared in print. For example, in the early part of the sixteenth century was composed a *Coutumes des chevaliers de la Table Ronde*, in the foreword of which the author tells us that he collected the names and the arms of the knights of the Round Table "tant au livre que Maistre Helye, maistre Robert de Boron, maistre Gautier Moab, ou Le Bret, et maistre Rusticien de Pise en parlent en leurs livres de ceste matière là ou sont escriptz les grands faits de tous les chevaliers de la Table Ronde." The *Le Bret* the author mentions is undoubtedly *Li Contes del Brait Merlin*, often called "le livres dou Bret," "le Bret," or "le livre du Bret," which was never printed and has completely disappeared, even in manuscript form.

## CHAPTER III

## EVOLUTION OF THE FIVE BOOKS

## I

## BOOKS I AND II

It is obvious even from a cursory reading of Rabelais that his work falls into two distinct parts—Books I-II, and Books IV-V—which are very loosely joined together by a transitional book—Book III. The chief *matière* of the books of the first part is the *matière* of such Arthurian Romances as the *Lancelot* and, in a minor measure, of the Gest Romances: the *enfances* of the hero and his exploits in war and in peace hold the chief place in them. We are justified in saying that almost all the *matière* of the second part is the *matière* of the Grail-quest romances, parodied, of course, and apparently different from the usual quests, nevertheless showing distinctly its filiation and ancestry.

The question that immediately suggests itself is: Why this lack of coherence and unity? The answer is that Rabelais, when he composed the first part of his work, and not only the first part but each of its two books, had no idea at all of going beyond that part, or each of the books constituting it.

It is now universally admitted that the first piece of writing to which Rabelais addressed himself was the composition, possibly, or, at all events, the retouching, of one of the numerous

It is thought that *El Baladro del Sabio Merlin*, printed at Burgos in 1498, contains passages from *Li Contes del Brait*. On this see James Douglas Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1923), I, part iii, chap. 8, and notes.

Naturally the reader need not be warned that the table (pp. 159-160) purports in no manner to be final. In many cases Rabelais' allusions to the romances are too fragmentary to form a basis for anything more than conjecture; and besides it is possible, and even probable, that he read romances that have left no traces in his work.

popular romances of the day, the *Grandes Chroniques*. If we may accept his word for it, this venture was unusually successful: "... il en a esté plus vendu par les imprimeurs en deux mois qu'il ne sera acheté de Bibles en neuf ans," he tells us in the prologue of the *Pantagruel*. It is a fair inference that the success of this *coup d'essai* suggested to, and emboldened, him to continue the story of the gest of Gargantua. This genesis of the *Pantagruel*, the first of the five books, from the chap-book literature of the time is amply attested on page after page. Accordingly, in this, the first book wholly of Rabelais' own invention, two different influences manifest themselves, the popular and burlesque, and the literary.

Among the popular and burlesque elements might be cited Rabelais' lack of measure,—that is, his lack of literary balance as well as of balance in invention — his minute descriptions, and the means which he employs in order to impart to his story an authentic air: the introduction into his narrative of real personages, places, and local natural curiosities. As examples of want of literary balance might be adduced Pantagruel's very extraordinary size (II, 32), a size beyond that of any giant of story or legend before or since; the interminable coq-à-l'âne in the suit between Baisecul and Humevesne (II, 11-13), and the debate between Panurge and Thaumaste (II, 18-19); as specimens of want of balance in invention, Panurge's prank on the Parisian lady (II, 22), his wall about Paris (II, 15), and the story of how Pantagruel engendered the pigmies (II, 27). In *Pantagruel* 14 we find several examples of minute description: the number of cows required to furnish Pantagruel with milk, and the size of the saucepan used in cooking his gruel. Illustrations of authentications are the crossbow of the youthful Pantagruel, which today is called the "crossbow of Chantelle"; the huge rock which he placed in a field near Poitiers and which "presently is called the Raised Stone" (II, 5); and the bronze spheres in which the doctors descended into Pantagruel's stomach, "one of which is in Orleans on the belfry of the Church of the Holy Cross" (II, 33). True, this way of authenticating a story or one of its

incidents is frequently met with in the literary romances, but the authentications of the *Pantagruel* are obviously of popular provenance.

Chief among the literary influences are the prose adaptations of the Old French epics and the Arthurian Romances, Folengo's *Macaronics*, and Lucian's *True History* and his *Necyomantia*. The influence of the Arthurian Romances is apparent in the framework of the *Pantagruel*: in the ancestry, birth, youth, appareling, education, and exploits of the hero; the influence of the *Macaronics* is manifest in several of the characters of Rabelais: Panurge in a great many respects closely resembles Cingar, Carpalim is none other than Falchettus, Eusthenes is Fracassus, and Pantagruel's central position with relation to his companions is very much like that of Baldus;<sup>1</sup> the influence of Lucian is obvious in the descent of Epistemon to Hell (II, 30), in the exploration of Pantagruel's interior by Maître Alcofribas (II, 32-33), and in the promise of a continuation of the adventures of Pantagruel and his companions.<sup>2</sup>

In the last chapter of the *Pantagruel* Rabelais promises his readers a sequel: "vous aurez le reste de l'histoire à ces foires de Francfort prochainement venantes . . ." The promised continuation apparently was to be a parody of incidents from the *Orlando furioso*,<sup>3</sup> from the *Macaronics*,<sup>4</sup> from Lucian's *True History*, and of the marvelous accounts of the explorers of his day. Some scholars have looked upon this promise as a mere flourish, others have taken it seriously.<sup>5</sup>

Two considerations would lead us to regard this promise as a whimsicality of Rabelais'. The first is the statement that the sequel would be offered for sale at the Francfort Fair. The

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Smith, *Rabelais in his Writings*, 29; Thuasne, *Etudes sur Rabelais*, 159-265.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, *The Necyomantia; The True History*.

<sup>3</sup> "Comment il espousa la fille du roy d'Inde diet Preste Jean," cf. *Orl. fur.* XXXIII, 96 seq., "et comment il visita les regions de la lune," XXXIV, 67 seq.

<sup>4</sup> "Comment il combattit contre les diables . . . et rompit quatre dents à Lucifer," *Macaronics* XXIII-XXV.

<sup>5</sup> Lefranc, *Les Navigations de Pantagruel*, 25-26.

Frankfort and the Lyons fairs determined during the sixteenth century the time of the publication of books for Germany and France respectively.<sup>6</sup> The *Pantagruel* was offered for sale at the Lyons Fair<sup>7</sup> in the fall of 1532. Before this sequel was offered to the public, before it was known what reception it would be accorded, and in view of that accorded to the *Grandes Chroniques*, why should Rabelais have contemplated launching his promised continuation elsewhere, and above all in a foreign country? The question implies its own answer: it was the last of a long series of drolleries. Germany, besides, was not the place to hold out any promise of success to books in a foreign language. Some publishing centers of Germany, notably Strassburg, could vie with Paris or Lyons or Venice or Rome in the number of books they printed. But with very few and very unimportant exceptions the books issued from the German presses were German or Latin.<sup>8</sup> Up to 1625 only eight French books were published at Strassburg, and these, it is believed, emanated from a small French colony in that city.<sup>9</sup> The little town of Frankenthal, in Bavaria, published more French books than Nuremburg, Heidelberg, Oppenheim, and other neighboring cities put together, and up to 1625 the French publications of Frankenthal numbered only ten. It is not at all necessary to concede to Rabelais any extensive bibliographical knowledge to conclude that he could never really have entertained the chimerical idea of launching outside of France any continuation he had in view. Accordingly, he must have been purposely writing nonsense with respect to the sequel he promised.

<sup>6</sup> Lefranc, *R. E. E.*, IX, 151; James W. Thompson, *The Frankfort Book Fair*, chap. 2.

<sup>7</sup> George Haven Putnam, *Books and their Makers During the Middle Ages*, II, 9 *seq.*: "They [the publishers of Lyons] gave attention to the production of books of light literature, such as popular romances, legends, folk-songs . . . at a time when the printers of Paris . . . and of nearly all the other book-manufacturing cities of Europe were devoting their presses exclusively to theology and the classics. Other cities that interested themselves in light literature were Bruges and London."

<sup>8</sup> Thompson, p. 31. At p. 79 Thompson says: "Probably the first Parisian book dealer to come to Frankfort was Jacob de Puys, who came some time after 1540."

<sup>9</sup> Le Bibliophile Jacob, *Recherches bibliographiques*, 81.



The second consideration is that in books with a grotesque or marvelous theme the promise of a continuation is almost *de rigueur*. Rabelais had two such promises under his eyes when he wrote the *Pantagruel*. In the concluding sentence of his *True History* Lucian says: "What next ensued upon the firm land I shall give a circumstantial account of in the following books." Tooke, in a note to his translation, sagaciously remarks: "It is highly proper that a history made up entirely of lies should conclude with a promise which the author never intends to keep." The other promise is Folengo's. Twice in the course of the *Baldus* Folengo promises a harrowing of Hell by Baldus and his band (X, 545-547; XXI, 207-208). Not having kept his promise, by the end of his romance, he closes his book with this valedictory:

Balde, vale, studio alterius te denique lasso,  
cui mea forte dabit tantum Pedrala favorem,  
ut te, Luciferi ruinantem regna tyranni,  
dicat, et ad mundum san saluum denique tornet.

XXV, 651-654.

It is probably this continuation that Rabelais had in mind when he records among the books of the library of Saint Victor one by Merlinus Coccaius, *de Patria diabolorum* (II, 7; III, 11).

The *Pantagruel* was very successful, since in the year 1534 it was going through a fifth edition. Success encouraged its author to ply once more his pen, and in 1534 the *Gargantua* appeared. Of the five books it is the best: it has fewer tiresome passages; its interest is better sustained; it excels the others in construction and style; it is the most philosophical; in imagination and technique it shows a remarkable superiority over its predecessor; it avoids the exaggerations that disfigure the *Pantagruel*. In fine, the *Gargantua* is far less popular than the *Pantagruel*, and much more closely approximates the literary romances.

Not only in manner and form does the *Gargantua* differ from the *Pantagruel*, thus exhibiting its independence in conception, but in two details which are noteworthy enough. The first is

that in II, 23 we are told Gargantua is king of Utopia, which is generally placed in Asia but may be in Africa (II, 2), whereas in the first book he is lord of one of the numerous small kingdoms of France (I, 1). The other is that in the second book (chap. 23) we learn that Gargantua is dead, whereas in the four other books he is resurrected without a word and takes a primary part (Book I), or a secondary part (Books III, IV, V) in the story.

All these considerations prove that the *Gargantua* cannot possibly be regarded as a continuation of the *Pantagruel* in any true sense of the term. It is an absolutely independent work suggested by the success of the *Pantagruel*, just as the latter itself was suggested by the success of the *Grandes Chroniques*. And even as the *Pantagruel* did not really look beyond itself toward a sequel, so again the *Gargantua* was regarded by its author as his final contribution to the cycle Plattard calls "la geste des Géants." Rabelais' abstention from writing for eleven years after the equally successful *Gargantua* would seem to lend color to this view. In further support of it may be adduced his acquiescence in the *Disciple de Pantagruel*, which first appeared in 1538 as a companion to pirated editions of the first two books, and purported to be the promised continuation of the second book. Some scholars reject its attribution to Rabelais, others defend it.<sup>10</sup> Among these is Lefranc,<sup>11</sup> who supposes it was a popular romance of Rabelais', in the manner of the *Grandes Chroniques*, designed as a provisional continuation to Book II. Tilley succinctly states the two views:

Its correspondence with the sequel which Rabelais had promised to the *Pantagruel*, and the fact that some of its episodes were borrowed by Rabelais for the acknowledged continuation of his story [Bringuenarilles, L'Isle Farouche, L'Isle des Ferremens] suggest that he himself was the author. On the other hand, its wholly popular character, its lack of any of the higher qualities which distinguish the master's recognized work, and certain marked differences in style have led the majority of critics to reject the theory of Rabelais' authorship.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See Josef Schober, *Rabelais' Verhältnis zum Disciple de Pantagruel* (Würzburg dissertation, 1904).

<sup>11</sup> *Les Navigations de Pantagruel*, 31, 144, 193 and note.

<sup>12</sup> *François Rabelais*, 220.

If the *Disciple* is not the work of Rabelais, whose is it then, and what explains Rabelais' complaisance in regard to it? At the end of the 1546 edition of the *Disciple* there is a burlesque *privilege* in which appears a long list of proper names applied to familiar animals and objects, each followed by its common name, the last term of the enumeration being *Quentin l'oeuf*. This would seem to indicate a signature: Quentin is the source (the egg, from the Latin *ab ovo, ex ovo*) whence proceeds all that has preceded. This Quentin would most probably be Jean ✓Quentin, who is mentioned in III, 34, as having taken a part in "la morale comédie de celui qui avoit espousé une femme mute." There is reason to believe that on a later occasion still Quentin turned his attention to Rabelais' work. Louis Cons, in the *Revue bleue* of April 25, 1914—before the confirmatory evidence contained in the *privilege* to the *Disciple* came to his attention—hazards the conjecture that he might be the person who retouched the fifth book. He bases his conjecture on these considerations:

The first edition of Book v appeared in 1562 under the title of *L'Isle Sonnante*; the second and complete edition appeared in 1564 with thirty-two additional chapters. A close examination of the passages of Book v, in which appears *la Quinte* or *Quinte*, leads to the conclusion that the word is not an abbreviation of *quintessence* but a disguised signature.

(a) The first time that the word occurs with appearances of being a signature is in the heading of chapter 18: *Comment nostre nauf fut encuarquée et fusmes aidés d'aulcuns voyageurs qui tenaient de la Quinte*. In the same chapter these same travelers are again adverted to as "tenant de la Quinte."

It has frequently been noted that from chapter 18 on there is a palpable change in the style of Book v: the narrative limps along, the diction changes, and the direct discourse becomes obtrusive. It is to be borne in mind that this sudden change in style follows close upon the part of the book published in 1562 as *L'Isle Sonnante*.

(b) If *la Quinte* or *Quinte* is a signature, there should be some likelihood of finding it in an appropriate place—at the end of the book. Now, at the end of the 1564 edition there appeared an epigram with the conclusion, or rather signature, NATURE QUITE.

The first letter of *Nature* plus the word *Quite* again gives *Quinte*, and the letters *-ature* are a simple anagram of the word *auteur*. Accordingly *Nature Quite* = *Auteur Quinte*.

(c) At the end of chapter 37 of the 1564 edition there occurs this Greek sentence, followed by its translation :

PROS TELOS AUTON PANTA KINEITAI

Toutes choses se mouvoient : a leur fin.

In the French rendering, two striking peculiarities present themselves, (1) the Greek *Kineitai*, an indicative present, is translated by an imperfect, (2) this imperfect is followed by a colon.

In this double peculiarity Cons sees a humanist's ruse to fix attention on the word *Kineitai*, which is once again the word *Kinte*, *Quinte*, plus the letters I and A, suggesting the name Jean. In this Greek sentence Cons sees the equation,

Pros telos auton panta kineitai = Tout ce qui est d'ici à la fin est l'oeuvre de Quinte.

From these considerations Cons makes three deductions :

First, in chapter 18 the anagram *Quinte* and its context mark the place where began the activity of a *collaborator*.

Second, chapter 38 marks off a second region where appears the intervention of a *continuator*.

Third, the collaborator and the continuator are one and the same person, Jean Quentin.

Cons buttresses his identification with the following arguments :

(a) The Cotirail mentioned in chapter 18 is Cotereau, a canon of Notre Dame, and Quentin's most intimate friend.

(b) In chapter 20 the author speaks of himself as having "dans le silence en Egypte mordu ses ongles et sa tête grattée," and as having offered in silence sacrifices with the "pontifes de Hieropolis." In these words Cons sees an allusion to Quentin's travels in Egypt and Turkey.

(c) Jean Quentin had the erudition and the wide reading necessary to intervene in Rabelais' work.

Cons' final conclusion is: The fifth book, published in 1562 and 1564, is the twice posthumous work of Rabelais and of Jean Quentin, who died in 1560.<sup>13</sup>

Quentin and Rabelais were old friends. In Quentin's youth we find him at Fontenay-le-Comte, where he frequents with Rabelais the circle of the Abbé Ardillon. He traveled in the Orient and became a *chevalier servant* of the order of Malta at Jerusalem. Returning to France he took orders and in 1536 was made professor of Canon Law at the University of Paris. His works comprise books of travel, on navigation, and commentaries on the canonists.<sup>14</sup> If indeed he is the author of the *Disciple* we can readily account for Rabelais' tolerance of, or rather partiality for, it: it was a 'continuation' made by an old friend, which he himself had never had the idea of writing, and which in no wise could be prejudicial to him; further, Quentin at the Sorbonne was a friend in the camp of the enemy, whose influence and protection some day might stand him in good stead. We know that Rabelais did not show the same amiability towards another friend, Dolet, with respect to his unauthorized edition in 1542 of the first two books.

<sup>13</sup> See Plattard in *E. S. S.* II, 279. Cons has since accepted in large measure the objections raised by Plattard against his conjecture. Plattard nevertheless recognizes the interest offered by a study of the friendship of Rabelais and Quentin, and of the possible collaboration of the latter in Book v.

<sup>14</sup> *Rev. bleue*, April 25, 1914.

## II

## BOOKS III, IV, AND V

The first indication to be found of a plan in Rabelais is in the third book. Only the third book looks beyond itself and to the following books. Unlike Books I and II, it is not a unity in itself, but by its form necessarily implies a continuation. There is every reason to believe that before he put his hand to Book III Rabelais had carefully thought out Books IV and V.

In the first place, the journey to the Dive Bouteille is announced in III, 47; and in IV, 1, we learn "[Ils] firent le voyage de Indie superieure en moins de quatre mois," a time limit to which the author scrupulously adheres. It is not easy to follow the chronology of Pantagruel's itinerary. At times Rabelais is at pains to give the precise duration of a lap of it (IV, 2: "... au quatrième [jour] découvrirent une isle"; IV, 5: "... au cinquième jour jà commençans tourner le pole," etc., etc.); at times he indicates the passing of time in general terms (V, 11: "Quelques jours après passasmes condamnation,"); frequently the lapse of time is not indicated at all—for instance, we can gather no idea of the interval between the departure from Le Guichet (V, 15) and the arrival at the Royaulme de Quinte Essence (V, 19). It is impossible, consequently, to determine with any great precision how long the journey both ways lasted, but, as closely as it can be approximated, the actual time spent in *sailing* between Thalasse and the Bottle varies between about thirty-five and forty days. If we add to that the time spent on the various islands where the travelers landed, the total time of the outward journey cannot well be under fifty days. Furthermore, Pantagruel set sail on June 7; on July 29, 1546—fifty-two days later—was held the council of Trent, which Rabelais makes meet in Lantern-land, a very short distance from the Bottle. Now, Pantagruel and his companions, while at sea, hear

of this council, and say: “. . . si lors y arrivions (*comme facile nous estoit*) voyrions belle honorable, et joyeuse compagnie des Lanternes” (iv, 5), which positively shows that Rabelais planned that the voyage from Thalasse to Utopia should require at the most fifty-two days.

In the second place, it is a fair inference that Rabelais did not allow his expedition to sail on an uncharted sea and discover islands at random, but made a map for his own guidance, indicating on it with painstaking accuracy the various lands Pantagruel should run across, and stop at, and both the time necessary to reach each one and the time spent in each. It is undoubtedly to such a map that allusion is made in iv, 1: “Iceluy [*Xenomanes*] . . . avoit à Gargantua laissé et signé, en sa grande et universelle hydrographie, la route qu'ils tiendroient visitans l'oracle de la Dive Bouteille Bacbuc.”

In conception the last three books are fundamentally different from the first two. Rabelais sought, nevertheless, to give his work unity after a fashion. He attempted to do so

(a) by choosing a bottle as the symbol of the oracle. This choice very likely was suggested by the copious drinking in the first two books, and the frequent use in them of the word *buveurs*;

(b) by making, with only one important exception, the protagonists of Books I and II the protagonists of Books III, IV, and V;

(c) by the adoption, in a modified form, as the theme of Book III and the pretext of the voyage to the Dive Bouteille, of one of the episodes he had promised to treat in the ‘continuation’ to Book II: “. . . et là vous verrez comment Panurge fut marié, et cocu dès le premier mois de ses noces.”

What impelled Rabelais once more to resume writing after an interval of eleven years, and what determined the character his new work assumed? Lefranc seems to have answered at least the first question satisfactorily. He shows that the centuries-old Quarrel of the Ladies, which had played such a large part

in the literature and the history of ideas of the Middle Ages, after a slumber of a few years had once more been revived and had by 1542 reached a climax which continued for fifteen years.<sup>15</sup> The genesis of this quarrel Joseph Bédier attributes to "ce fond de rancune que l'homme a toujours eu contre la femme."<sup>16</sup> In *L'Estoire del Graal*<sup>17</sup> the attitude and point of view of medieval times toward woman is pithily and characteristically set forth: "... deable cose et moult doutable avoit en femme car encontre son grant enging ne peut seus homme durer." Around this theme the medieval writer spun endless tales. Even in the romances, with their idealistic and aristocratic tradition, the gentle sex was frequently treated with anything but gentleness. The theme of the frailty of woman runs through every form of Old French literature, and is especially developed in the fabliaux. Initiated in all probability about 1159 by the fabliau *Richeut*, the quarrel has gone on ever since almost down to our own day,<sup>18</sup> with now and then, however, periods of subsidence. Very acute in the second half of the fifteenth century, it partially subsided in the first years of the sixteenth, but was revived in 1515 by Tiraqueau's *De legibus connubialibus*, which rapidly went through several editions. A third edition appeared in 1524, enlarged by quotations from classical authors, which Rabelais is thought to have helped to collect.<sup>19</sup> It was not until 1542, however, that the quarrel began to reach its climax, with the publication in that year at Lyons of Heroët's *Parfaicte Amye*, "a poem of feminine chivalry." Republished in 1543, from 1544 to 1550 it went through ten editions, and inspired in its favor and against

<sup>15</sup> *R. E. E.* II, 1-10, 78-109.

<sup>16</sup> *Les Fabliaux*, 281.

<sup>17</sup> H. Oskar Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, I, 183.

<sup>18</sup> T. Branagan, *The Excellency of the Female Character Vindicated* (1808).

<sup>19</sup> Tilley, *François Rabelais*, 186 seq. Rabelais' copy of Gratien du Pont's *Controversies of the Masculine and Feminine Sexes* (1537) still exists.



it a multitude of compositions.<sup>20</sup> Lefranc asserts that in the ten years which preceded the Pléiade, the Quarrel was, with the resurrection of Platonism, the outstanding fact in the history of ideas.

In the *Parfaicte Amye* Heroët states the Neoplatonic theory of love current during the Renaissance, and in France in vogue especially at Marguerite de Navarre's court.

There are three essential elements in this theory: Beauty, Goodness, Love. The cornerstone of the theory is Plato's doctrine (*Symposium*, 201D) that earthly love uplifts one to the knowledge of God. The theory assimilates Beauty to the body, and Goodness to the soul (*Parfaicte Amye*, 820). The beauty which shines forth in the body is but a spark of the divine and immortal Beauty (876-878); Beauty, accordingly, is also a reflection of the divine Goodness (1380). The soul existed in God before quickening the body, and therefore knew divine Beauty. When it became imprisoned in the body it forgot its former existence and the divine Beauty, except in a few cases, where one soul recognizes another as having previously formed part with it of the divine Beauty. This recognition is Love.

Love is attested to by the intellect, not by the senses (567-574). The reunion in Love of two souls is accompanied by a divine frenzy, transport, and rapture which cause the lovers to become oblivious of their earthly portion. While their souls—which are the masters—are drinking in that divine joy, their bodies—which are the servants—may partake too of earthly joy. When the souls return to their bodies after their rapture they are no longer cognizant of the joy the latter tasted synchronously with them (593-608).

<sup>20</sup> Ferdinand Gohin, *Antoine Heroët, Oeuvres poétiques* (Paris, 1909), in the Notice biographique, p. 20, says: "C'est le contraire qui est vrai: La *Parfaicte Amye* est une réponse à l'*Amie de Court*, et le point de départ de ce débat fut la publication et la vogue du *Courtisan*, ouvrage de l'Italien Balthasar Castiglione." The *Amie de Court* of La Borderie, an anti-feminist contribution to the Quarrel, was published in 1541.

In her celebrated definition of the perfect lover (*Heptameron*, 19), Marguerite calls this Beauty and Goodness the soul's Sovereign Good, and its desire to attain to this Sovereign Good is Love:

... Car l'ame qui n'est créée que pour retourner à son souverain bien, ne fait tant qu'elle est dedans ce corps que désirer y parvenir. Mais à cause que les sens par lesquels elle en peut avoir nouvelles, sont obscurs et charnels par le péché du premier père, ne luy peuvent monstrier que les choses visibles plus approchantes de la perfection, après quoi l'ame court, cuidans trouver en une beauté extérieure, en une grace visible et aux vertus morales, la souveraine beauté, grace, et vertu.

In brief, Love, according to the Neoplatonists, may be defined succinctly in these terms: Love is the soul's effort to realize the Beauty and Goodness it intuitively remembers.

The quarrel eventually involved almost all the writers of the time. In this controversy Rabelais could not remain a passive onlooker. There could be no doubt on which side would be found the man who had dismissed the death of Grandgousier's wife with the cynical words, "Bien penser m'en soucie ni d'elle ni d'autre femme que soit." The last three books of Rabelais, it is clear, are an attack on the views on woman and love upheld by Marguerite and her circle. In order to challenge and fix the attention of his opponents, and to join the issue squarely, he addresses their leader in a *dixain* which he prefixes to the third book, entitled "François Rabelais à l'esprit de la Royne de Navarre":

Esprit abstraict, ravy, et eestatic,  
Qui, fréquentant les cieulx, ton origine,

Voudrois tu point faire quelque sortie  
De ton manoir divin, perpetuel,  
Et ça bas voir une tierce partie  
Des *Faicts* joyeux du bon *Pantagruel*?

If there was anything to cause surprise at all it was the ultimate nature of his thesis and the learning, eloquence, and extraordinary vigor with which he developed it. He reduced the question to its final term: Can a woman remain faithful to her husband,

and in consequence, should a man marry? Rabelais expresses what is without doubt his own opinion of women in the words he attributes to Rondibilis:

Quand je dis femme, je dis un sexe tant fragil, tant variable, tant muable, tant inconstant et imparfait, que nature me semble (parlant en tout honneur et révérence) s'estre esgarrée de ce bon sens par lequel elle avoit créé et formé toutes choses, quand elle a basti la femme (III, 32).

Such a question, however, cannot be answered dogmatically. This knowledge—like all knowledge really worth having—is purchased through one's own experience. To this effect is the reply of the Divine Bottle, to whom appeal is made for an answer after philosopher and fool, priest and layman, scientist and ordinary man had failed to reply convincingly as well as categorically.

To the solution of this problem, then, the quest of the Divine Bottle addresses itself. But in its course Rabelais somewhat loses sight of his original thesis, and the quest of the Bottle becomes broadened and generalized in the end into a Quest after the Sovereign Good.

The Sovereign Good of the Neoplatonists consists, as we have just seen, in the attainment of Beauty and Goodness through Love; the Sovereign Good of the Grail-quest romances, we shall see,<sup>21</sup> consists in communion with God. In the second part of his work Rabelais definitely reacts against these two aspects of the same mystical conception, and proposes a novel notion of the Sovereign Good, which he makes consist in the pursuit of Knowledge and the cultivation of Wisdom and Truth.

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<sup>21</sup> See in chapter 5, What the Quest of the Holy Grail is, the last paragraph of the same chapter, and Conclusions.

## CHAPTER IV

THE FRAMEWORK OF BOOKS I AND II COMPARED  
WITH THAT OF A TYPICAL ROMANCE

## I

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Concerning the form in which Rabelais chose to cast his work, W. F. Smith says: "The framework of the book was in a way supplied by the Romances and Legends of Chivalry and Stories of Giants which were so much in vogue at the time, such as *Amadis de Gaule*, *Les quatre fils Aymon*, *Fierabras*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, and a host of others."<sup>1</sup>

This passage is chosen for citation as representative of the views of those scholars who see in Rabelais' five books an imitation of the so-called Romances of Chivalry, for the reason that it illustrates unusually well the confusion which prevails in the classification of the *rifacimenti* of the older epics and romances printed in the times of Rabelais. Smith probably does not mean to differentiate between the Romances and Legends of Chivalry, by which terms, with Tilley and Besch and many others, he designates such romances as *Fierabras*, *Les quatre fils Aymon*, and *Huon de Bordeaux*, and presumably the Arthurian Romances; and by Stories of Giants he doubtless alludes to such works as the *Grandes Chroniques*, *Le Disciple de Pantagrue*, and the *Morgante*. The classification under "Romances of Chivalry" of the prose adaptations of the old epics and romances printed in general between 1478 and 1550 is inherently faulty, and for the purposes of this study misleading. Accordingly it becomes necessary to suggest *in limine* a new classification.

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Rabelais Translated in English*, Introduction, p. 43.

This classification will not be found to differ materially from that of Gaston Paris. Paris, it will be recalled, observed the following classification of early French narrative poetry:<sup>2</sup>

*The Epic.* In it the chief personage is placed in such a position that the basic qualities of his character stand out clearly. Usually the mainspring of the actions of the epic hero is *desmesure*. The *matière* of the epic is French.

*The Romance.* Of this *genre* there are three types: (a) Romances of Antiquity, whose *matière* is classical; (b) Arthurian Romances (*romans bretons*); (c) Romances of Adventure.<sup>3</sup> In the Arthurian Romance, the *matière*, originally Celtic, became French (*francisée*) with Chrétien de Troyes, and its treatment and that of the hero is idealistic. In it the mainsprings of action are chivalry and love, with love subordinate and inciting to chivalry.<sup>4</sup> In the Romance of Adventure, the *matière* was originally Byzantine or Oriental and afterwards French. Its treatment is realistic, that of the personages psychological. Love is the main element and chivalry is incidental.<sup>5</sup>

Now, in the adaptations of the old epics and romances published up to 1553, as has already been pointed out (chap. 2), the epic often became contaminated with the romance. In such cases of contamination—of which *Ogier le Danois* is a good example—it was sought by the addition to the original story of certain peculiarities of form and matter proper to the romance more or less to dress up the epic in the garb of the romance. These hybrids have generally been called, along with the Arthurian Romances, Romances of Chivalry. This designation, it is at

<sup>2</sup> *La Littérature française au moyen âge* (ed. 2, 1913). On the epic and its divisions see §§ 48, 52, 89, 90, 91, 92; on the romance and its divisions see §§ 95, 96, 97, 102.

<sup>3</sup> This classification is an extension of Jean Bodel's, found in the oft-quoted lines from his *Chanson des Saisnes*:

Ne sont que trois materes a nul home entendant,  
De France et de Bretaingne et de Rome la grant,  
Et de ces trois materes nia nule semblant.

<sup>4</sup> See *Erec*, 2463–2506 for a statement of this doctrine.

<sup>5</sup> C. V. Langlois, *La Vie française au treizième siècle d'après dix romans d'aventure*, is interesting in this connection.

once evident, is not a very happy one: in the first place, it confuses two different types of *matière*, and in the second it gives a wrong idea of those adaptations and late imitations of the epic which suffered little or no contamination in form or in matter with the romance. Examples of these are *Les quatre fils Aymon* and *Fierabras*.

Accordingly, for the present study, the following classification is suggested:

*Gest Romances*,<sup>6</sup> which would include all the adaptations of the ancient *matière de France* and the later imitations of it, like the *Mabrian*, howsoever closely or remotely related they may be in form to the romance proper.

*Romances of Antiquity*. Few of these were adapted and published in Rabelais' time, and they left no impress on his work.

*Romances of Chivalry*, which would include all the adaptations of the old Arthurian Romances—*matière de Bretagne*—and their later imitations, like *Le petit Artus de Bretagne*.

*Romances of Adventure*, which would agree with the classification generally accepted (p. 177). . . . It may be said that though many romances of this type were adapted and published in Rabelais' day their influence on his work was nil. Consequently they, as well as the Romances of Antiquity, will receive no further attention here.<sup>7</sup>

This brings us to a consideration of the essential *formal* difference between the epic and the romance. It might be said with a fair degree of accuracy that the *Iliad* is an epic, the *Odyssey* a romance, while the *Aeneid* is a romantic epic, as it shows characteristics of both forms. In the epic the action concerns

<sup>6</sup> *Romans de geste*.

<sup>7</sup> Paris calls such a romance as *Mélusine*, and Firmin-Didot such romances as *Valentin et Orson* and *Robert le Diable*, *romans d'aventure*. They are not *Schicksal* or *fate* romances, but a mixture of the various types. See chap. 2, note 3, for a definition. As has already been said, there has not yet appeared a comprehensive and satisfactory classification of the various types of romances, and such a one is probably impossible and unnecessary. *Le petit Jehan de Saintré* may be instanced as one of the later *romans d'aventure*. It is, as it were, a manual of chivalry and courtly love.

itself with the deeds of a hero or a group of heroes, which are almost exclusively warlike, and are projected on a conflict between clans or tribes or nations constituting the background of the epic. The action of the epic revolves in general within the orbit of this conflict. In the romance, on the contrary, the personages are shown as going through a series of episodic adventures (often consisting of many incidents) usually unrelated one with another; frequently there is no background for the deeds and adventures of the hero,<sup>8</sup> and such background as there may be is oftener than not fragmentary and devoid of logical connection. In the *Odyssey* the background against which the adventures of Ulysses are projected is the ocean; in the French romances it is a complex of conventions, some literary, some social, some political, some religious. Discussion of the background of the romance forms an integral part of this chapter, and this topic will be treated at greater length in the sequel.

Addressing ourselves more specifically to the French epic and romance, we find good contrasting characterizations of them in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*. [With regard to the epic, Paulin Paris says:

La Chanson de geste devait être et fut effectivement avant tout un poème guerrier. Les sentiments délicats de la vie paisible n'y tiennent qu'une place étroite et accidentelle; les actions intrépides, les grands effets de la force corporelle, les lâches trahisons, les généreux dévouements, les calamités ou les victoires décisives, eurent le privilège d'y saisir et d'y captiver l'attention des auditeurs.<sup>9</sup>]

And respecting the romance Gaston Paris expresses himself in these words:

Ils se divisent en deux classes, les romans biographiques et les romans épisodiques. Les premiers prennent un héros depuis sa naissance, ou au moins depuis son apparition à la cour d'Arthur où se présente à lui l'aventure qui doit faire le principal sujet du roman, et nous racontent plus ou moins longuement ses prouesses, qui aboutissent à son mariage. Les romans

<sup>8</sup> The *matière* of the epic often is incorporated in the romance, when a struggle between armies forms the background for the deeds of the hero. On the subject of transition in content from epic to romance, see N. E. Griffin, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXVIII, No. 1, 50-70.

<sup>9</sup> XXII, 259.

épisodiques, au contraire, généralement plus brefs, nous retracent un épisode, mais souvent composé de beaucoup d'aventures enchevêtrées les unes dans les autres, de la vie d'un héros célèbre.<sup>10</sup>

The romance, then, differs from the epic both in *matière* and in form. In the typical biographical romance the main thread of the narrative will be found to fall under the following divisions: Prologue, Ancestry of the hero, his Youth and Education, his Exploits, his Marriage.<sup>11</sup> Of all these parts the epic exhibits only the Exploits of its hero.<sup>12</sup>

The epic, of course, is the direct ancestor of the romance. The romance might accurately enough be said to correspond, on its formal side, to the epic family. The epic family originated in some such manner: as the number of epic poems increased the *jongleurs* arranged them in families, each headed by the name of an ancestor; the 'hub' of the family was its earliest epic, usually a poem brief enough to be capable of being concluded in a single recitation, and exhibiting the hero in the maturity of his power. The family grew in two ways: first, an independent poem presented under the guise of a 'preface' the youth of the hero and his early exploits—*enfances*—or perhaps his 'ancestry,' recounting the fortunes of his forbears; sequels followed describing additional exploits of the hero<sup>13</sup> or of his descendants—or collaterals. The epic family, accordingly, exhibits from the point of view of the romance structure the following phases, in logical sequence: Ancestry, Youth, and Exploits, with certain other phases, such as Marriage, implied.

<sup>10</sup> XXX, 14.

<sup>11</sup> To these might be added the hero's Birth and his Appareling, were it not that they are of minor importance and are sketchily given when not altogether omitted.

<sup>12</sup> Wolfram's *Parzival* and *Robert le Diable*, among others, show all the divisions. Many romances omit one or more of them. The *Lancelot* omits Marriage, for instance, and *Erec* and *Clériadus et Méliadice* (1495) omit all but Exploits and Marriage.

<sup>13</sup> Compare, however, the growth of the Perceval cycle of romances; also the evolution of *Amadis de Gaula*, James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Littérature espagnol* (1913), 158-162, 218, and Pascual de Gayangos, "Discurso preliminar," *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XL.



The authors of romances synthetized the *form* of the epic family and within a single poem presented (with considerable abbreviation, naturally, of the less essential parts) the various phases of the hero's activities which previously had required as many different poems for presentation. With this alteration in form there went an associated change in *matière*:<sup>14</sup> the *matière* of the epic purports to be historical and national, the *matière* of the romance is legendary and folkloristic. In the Old French *épics* the central personages are usually Charlemagne and his twelve peers, all in arms to deliver France and Europe from the Saracens; in the romances the central personage is Arthur, whose knights devote their lives to knightly deeds and to the quest of the Holy Grail. ✓ 2

From these remarks it will be clear that Rabelais' work, as a whole, in its *evolution* partakes of the nature of the epic, and in its *form*, of the nature of the romance. The five books grew as the epic family did: first, the second book—the *Pantagruel*—created the hero; the success of the *Pantagruel*, in the second place, suggested the *Gargantua*—the first book—which embodies the Ancestry phase; thirdly, the further exploits of the hero were related—Books III, IV, V. In form, both the *Pantagruel* and the *Gargantua* exhibit the architectonics of the Arthurian Romance. In the *Pantagruel* we find the following divisions: Prologue, Ancestry, Youth and Education, Exploits; and in the *Gargantua*, Prologue, Youth and Education, Exploits, and, inferentially, Marriage. ✓

<sup>14</sup> See Maurice Wilmette, *L'Evolution du roman français aux environs de 1150* (Bouillon, Paris, 1913).

## II

## GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE STORY

The treatment of this division of the present chapter involves a discussion of the Old French romance on its formal side, i. e., a discussion of its framework.

## § 1. THE PROLOGUE

Few types of medieval French compositions were without their prologue. Usually the prologue invites the reader to tarry and promises him "une joyeuse histoire,"<sup>15</sup> "gentement ordonnée,"<sup>16</sup> or "belles aventures,"<sup>17</sup> or the story related may be "le meilleur conte . . . qui soit contez an cort real."<sup>18</sup> In the course of time the tone of the prologue degenerated, and the reader was enticed in shameless terms.

Approchez, approchez [shouts the adapter of the incunabular *Maugis d'Aigremont*<sup>19</sup> to his audience], nous possédons dans nos magasins de quoi satisfaire les goûts les plus variés et les plus difficiles; nous avons un vaste assortiment de fées, d'enchanteurs, de chevaliers, de nains, de géants, de batailles, de tournois, de coup d'épées, de coups de lance, de contes d'amour, de conquêtes et de beaux faits d'armes, de miracles et de merveilles de toutes sortes, de rois et d'empereurs, de reines et de princesses belles comme le jour, tout revu, corrigé, augmenté, et orné de belles figures. Approchez.

This side-show puff left its traces in Rabelais. Not a single one of his six prologues but begins with some adjuration or another to his reader, while the Prologue de l'auteur, Book iv, strikes exactly the tone of the *Maugis*. "Gens de bien," shouts Rabelais, simulating the 'barker,'" "Dieu vous saulve et gard! Où estes vous? Attendez que je chausse mes lunettes . . . Ha, ha! Bien et beau s'en va quaresme! Je vous voy . . ."

<sup>15</sup> *Jehan de Paris*.

<sup>16</sup> *Beaudouin de Sebourc*.

<sup>17</sup> *Le Chevalier au Papegau*.

<sup>18</sup> *Li Contes del Graal*.

<sup>19</sup> Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises*, ed. 2, II, 612, *seq.* See also the prologue of the *Helyas* (*Godfrey de Bouillon*, 1504), and *Perceforest*, 1531.

But the prologue was usually more serious and dignified, especially in the earlier romances. Chrétien de Troyes uses it more than once as a vehicle to express his literary doctrine. In his prologues he frequently mentions the *sans* and *matiere* of which his works are compounded. By *sans* he means the *science* or *sapiance* with which one is primitively endowed as a poet. By using his *sans* properly the poet imparts to his work a "signification" proceeding from the "interpretation" to be placed on his *matiere*, according as he has moulded his *matiere*. Accordingly, in the eyes of Chrétien, *sans* might mean the *knowledge* or inspiration of the poet and the interpretation to be put on his text. In the later medieval ages, with Dante for example, this doctrine was further elaborated, and crystallized finally into the four "significations" assigned to poetry: the literal, the allegorical, the moral or philosophical, the anagogic or mystic.<sup>20</sup>

This more sober function of the prologue, too, left its echo in Rabelais:

... faut ouvrir le livre [he warns the reader in the Prologue of the *Gargantua*], et soigneusement peser ce qui est deduict. Lors cognoistrez que la drogue dedans contenue est bien d'autre valeur que ne promettait la boîte: c'est à dire que les *matieres* icy traictées ne sont tant folastres comme le tiltre au dessus pretendoit.

Et posé le cas qu'au *sens literal* vous trouvez *matieres* assez joyeuses et bien correspondentes au nom, toutesfois pas demeurer là ne faut comme au chant des sirenes; ains à *plus hault sens* interpreter ce que par aventure euidiez dict en gaité de coeur.

Puis, par curieuse leçon et meditation frequente, rompre l'os et subcer la substantifique *mouelle*... avec espoir certain d'estre faicts escors et preux à ladicte lecture, car en icelle bien aultre goust trouverez et *doctrine plus absconse*, laquelle vous revelera de tres haults sacrements et mysteres horrifiques, tant en ce qui concerne nostre religion que aussi l'estat politiq et vie oeconomique.

In this prologue Rabelais has in contemplation, besides the literal meaning of his writings, now and then an allegorical<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Wm. A. Nitze, *Rom.* XLIV, 14.

<sup>21</sup> See *Orlando innamorato*, XXV, 6, and XXXIV 2-3, where Berni admonishes his reader in the same manner as Rabelais.

and more frequently a philosophical meaning also.<sup>22</sup> In claiming this manifold "signification" for his work, Rabelais harks back to a long and well-established medieval tradition which nevertheless he ridicules in the same prologue:

Croyez-vous en vostre foy qu'onceques Homere escrivant l'*Iliade* et l'*Odyssee* pensast es allegories lesquelles de luy ont calfreté Plutarche, Heraclides Ponticq, Eustatie, Phornute, et ce que d'iceux Politian a desrobé? Si le croyez vous n'approchez ne de pieds ne de mains à mon opinion qui decrete icelles aussi peu avoir esté songées d'Homere que d'Ovide en ses *Metamorphoses* les sacrements de l'Evangile....

## § 2. ANCESTRY

In *Cligès* about half of the poem is given over to an account of the life and deeds of Alexandre, the hero's father. Hence *Cligès* is, so to say, a double romance. It is very unusual to find so much space devoted to the lineage of the hero; much more frequently this phase is disposed of in one chapter, or in two or three at the most. The recital of the hero's ancestry need not confine itself to his direct forbears. In the *Perlesvaus* it concerns itself quite as much with Perceval's collateral kin: it is given fully, both on his mother's side and on his father's, and his twelve uncles are carefully listed.<sup>23</sup> In the *Lancelot* we are told who the father and the mother of Lancelot were, also the names and history of their brother and sister, respectively; the wars the two kings had been compelled to wage against Claudas, a hostile neighbor; the vicissitudes that they experienced in the course of these wars; the treachery of the seneschal of Lancelot's father, Ban, which resulted in the loss of Ban's last stronghold and his consequent death of grief, likewise the death of his brother Bohors; and finally the taking of the veil by Lancelot's mother and his aunt.<sup>24</sup> In *Le petit Artus de Bretagne* we are

<sup>22</sup> See W. F. Smith, *Rabelais in his Writings, passim*, for the significance of the five books.

<sup>23</sup> Charles Potvin, *Perceval le Gallois*, I, 1-3; *Perceval* (1530), chaps. 1-2.

<sup>24</sup> Sommer, III, 1-22; *Lancelot* (1533), first part, ff. 1-5.

given an account of Arthur's father and of his mother, and his lineage is traced back to Lancelot on the paternal side.<sup>25</sup>

In *Pantagruel*—"De l'origine et antiquité du grand Pantagruel"—Rabelais gives the family tree of his giant from the remotest times. Sixty ascendants of Pantagruel are listed in it. He gives as his reason for doing this the universal custom of chronicles; "aussi les auteurs de la Sainte Escriture, comme monseigneur Sant Luc" have done likewise. It is plain from these words, taken in conjunction with the form in which he lists his hero's forbears, that Rabelais is here parodying Biblical genealogies. Of the sixty giant ancestors of Pantagruel, a few are of Rabelais' own invention, one is taken from the Scriptures, one from history, eleven from the French and Italian epics and romances, and the rest from mythology and popular tradition.

### § 3. YOUTH AND EDUCATION

The story of the youth of the hero frequently assumes an extensive development in the romances. In the *Lancelot*, for example, this part alone of the romance amounts to what would be a book of average length. The *enfances* of Lancelot covers a period between about his second and his eighteenth year, when he goes to Arthur's court to be knighted. . . . In a general way, this part of the story adumbrates the character which the hero will be given in the sequel.

Of prime importance in the formative period of the hero's life is his education. In *Le petit Artus de Bretagne* Arthur is "delivered under the governance of a gentle master named Governor," who taught him to play chess and tables. When he was twenty, Governor taught him how to skirmish, taught him the ways of courtesy and gave him moral instruction.<sup>26</sup> At a very tender age Lancelot was given a master "qui lenseigna et

<sup>25</sup> Chap. 1, Lord Berners' translation.

<sup>26</sup> Chap. 2.

monstra comment il se tiendrait en maniere de gentilhomme."<sup>27</sup> When he was barely out of the cradle his master made for him a bow and arrows and taught him their use. When he was a little older he was taught how to kill the birds of the forest and to shoot hares. When he was grown enough to ride he was given a steed and costume and taught how to ride cross-country. Furthermore, he was taught all kinds of games,<sup>28</sup> especially chess, at all of which he excelled. So much for the physical side of his education.<sup>29</sup> The Lady of the Lake undertook herself his moral education. The lessons she inculcated in him and the manner of their inculcation recall the *chastoiements* of the Middle Ages,<sup>30</sup> one of which, indeed, did find its way into a romance.<sup>31</sup> The Lady explained to Lancelot the origin and purpose

<sup>27</sup> *Lancelot* (1533), first part, f. 10. See Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben*, I, 156-162, on the education of the nobility in the Middle Ages. The education of the prince differed from that of the knight in being more extensive, foreign tongues, among other accomplishments, not being neglected. Generally, reading and writing received scant attention, though some heroes of romance, Lancelot for example, could both read and write. It is worth noting that Wolfram von Eschenbach on several occasions proudly boasts of his inability to do either. Cf. *Galiën rethoré*, Troyes reprint (Garnier, 1723?), chap. 12. In his boyhood Galien is put to school, until one day he rides to death a horse of his foster-father's, who thereupon says: "C'est une grande folie l'envoyer à l'école, car il ressemble bien à celui qui l'a engendré; il fera en son temps vaillant chevalier. Je vous promets, ma foi, que jamais il n'étudiera."

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Rabelais, I, 22, "Les jeux de Gargantua."

<sup>29</sup> On the physical education of the youth of the Middle Ages, see Schultz, I, 162-173; on his warlike education, the first book of *L'Art de chevalerie*, and of *Li Ahrejanee de l'ordre de chevalerie*, vols. 39 and 40, respectively, of the *Société des anciens textes français*. Léon Gautier, in *La Chevalerie*, in the chapter entitled "L'Enfance du baron," presents interestingly the physical, moral, intellectual, and religious education of the noble youth of the feudal period.

<sup>30</sup> On the *Chastoiements*, see Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, II, 185-188. The *chastoiement* is a didactic composition whose end is moral discipline. "Le castoiement d'un père à son fils," Barbazan-Méon, II, 39, represents a father who is giving precepts to his son when the latter is about to leave the parental roof. These precepts are, love and fear of God, love of work, discretion in making friends, fidelity to obligations, loyalty, continence, humility, fidelity to the king, and admonitions against raillery, against ambition, and against avarice and prodigality.

<sup>31</sup> In Robert de Blois' *Beaudous*, when the mother is advising her son as to his conduct, the opportunity is used to introduce religious and didactic poems in the romance. One of the interpolations is "Le Chastoiement des dames," Barbazan-Méon, II, 184.

of the institution of chivalry and the qualities the knight should possess. She described the arms of the knight and their symbolism<sup>32</sup> and upon delivering him over to Arthur's care she gave him her final precepts.

The importance of the youth's education in the romances is attested by the fact that Mélusine *chastoie* each one of her sons as he sets out on his career of adventures.<sup>33</sup> She discourses to them on morals, statecraft, military and religious conduct, and liberality.

As every reader knows, the youth, and especially the education, of Gargantua and Pantagruel constitute an important part of the two books, and receive detailed attention. The first need detain us but briefly—suffice it to say that Pantagruel's physical proportions so delighted his father that he "luy fit faire . . . une arbaleste pour s'esbattre après les oisillons" (II, 5); and that Gargantua "passa les trois jusques à cinq ans . . . comme les petits enfants du pays" (I, 2). When Pantagruel was still very young he was sent off "à l'école pour passer son jeune age" (II, 5), and Gargantua was entrusted to the care of Thubal Holoferne "sur la fin de la quinte année." On his university tour, which resembles closely the wanderings of the *scholasticus vagabundus* of the Middle Ages,<sup>34</sup> Pantagruel showed at first an inclination to continue his youthful exploits. At Paris, however, he found a school more to his liking than any he had previously visited, and so he set seriously to work. In this he was encouraged by his father, who addressed to him the celebrated letter (II, 8) which has been called "le chant triomphal de la Renaissance." In this letter, Rabelais sketches the curriculum a gentleman should follow who wishes to become "absolu et parfait . . . en tout savoir libéral et honneste."

<sup>32</sup> Sommer, III, 22; *Lancelot* (1533), first part, ff. 30-31. On the institution of chivalry, its form and spirit, in history and romance, see Roy Temple House, *L'Ordene de chevalerie*, 7-27 (University of Chicago dissertation, 1918).

<sup>33</sup> *Mélusine*, *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> See Paul Monroe, *The Autobiography of Thomas Platter* (New York, 1904); also N. H. Clement, "A Note on Panurge," *Romanic Review*, XV, 285-295.

These brief indications he later amplified in the chapters dealing with Gargantua's education (1, 24-25). Gargantua, on his arrival at Paris, must needs have in his turn an exploit or two to his credit and give the people of the capital, who are "tant sot, tant badaut, et tant inepte de nature," a striking manifestation of his prowess. He carries off, accordingly, the bells of Notre Dame. After being given an opportunity to witness at the Sorbonne the older system of education, which "l'avait rendu tant fat, niays et ignorant," he is "instituted in letters" by Ponocrates in quite a different manner. His tutor aimed to make his education universal. Equal attention was paid to his physical and his intellectual training, and his moral and religious education was in no wise neglected. It is noteworthy that at dinner<sup>35</sup> Ponocrates had read to him "quelque histoire plaisante des anciennes prouesses"—the romances—and that much time was devoted to his instruction in "l'art de chevalerie," when, armed *cap à pie*, he was trained in the use of lance, battle-ax, sword, and dagger, the weapons of the heroes of epic and romance.<sup>36</sup>

In brief, in the education which Rabelais was recommending to the young gentleman of the Renaissance he kept constantly in mind the ideal of the old Roman, *mens sana in corpore sano*—that is, a classical, Graeco-Roman ideal.

#### § 4. EXPLOITS AND MARRIAGE

It need scarcely be said that the recital of the deeds of valor of the hero constitutes by far the chief part of the romance, and invariably receives a length of treatment commensurate with its importance. In the greater number of the romances the hero's

<sup>35</sup> See *Las siete Partidas* of Alphonso the Wise, Book II, tit. 21, law 20, for the rules governing the entertainment of nobles during meals in medieval Spain. To instill in the hearers a warlike spirit, *cantares de gesta* were read to them, and their conversation was restricted to *fechas darmas*.

<sup>36</sup> In the letter of Gargantua to Pantagruel, Rabelais, echoing the *Orl. fur.* IX, 18-29, says that firearms were invented "par suggestion diabolique," the implication being that their invention caused the decay of chivalry.



exploits are interwoven with a love story which usually ends in marriage.<sup>37</sup> In Rabelais there is no heroine, an omission traceable to his contemptuous attitude toward women, and of a love story there is only an inkling. In II, 23, we learn that when Pantagrue was about to sail for Utopia he received a letter from a lady of Paris whom "he had kept and entertained for a good space." In the other books there is not even so much as that. In this almost total exclusion of woman, Rabelais' work calls to mind the Gest Romances rather than the Arthurian Romances.

At first sight, too, very much like that of the Gest Romances is Rabelais' treatment of the exploits of his heroes, especially in the *Gargantua*, which unfold themselves on the background of the Picrocholine and Dipsodic wars.<sup>38</sup> This resemblance is very largely superficial, however, as is readily apparent from the fact that these two conflicts, far from being of primary importance in the structure of the story, as they are in the Gest Romances, are merely episodic, and as episodes have innumerable counterparts in the Arthurian Romances. Indeed, it is in this relegation of warfare from a position of main to one of merely episodic interest—by which it was enabled to assume characteristics that brought it into broader contact with life—that the romance shows a distinct technical, aesthetic, and ethical advance over the epic. With these remarks further consideration of the exploits of the hero will be deferred until the topic of War in the Romances is taken up below.

<sup>37</sup> In the *Lancelot* naturally there is no marriage, though its place is in a great measure taken by the love subsisting between Lancelot and Guenevere. Other romances might be cited in this connection.

<sup>38</sup> The combat between Pantagrue and Loupgarou has sufficient points of resemblance with that between Oliver and Fierabras in the *Fierabras* to raise a strong presumption that Rabelais was here directly inspired by this Gest Romance.

## III

SPECIFIC RESEMBLANCES OF DETAIL BETWEEN RABELAIS  
AND THE ROMANCES

## § 1. BACKGROUND OF THE ROMANCE

The discussion of this division of the present chapter involves a discussion of the background of the romance. This background, as already said, is complex, and variable. In an episodic romance, like *Erec*, or *La mule sans frein*, it is scarcely perceptible; in a biographical romance, like *Lancelot du Lac*, it is highly elaborated. The commonest, though not exclusive or essential, constituent elements of the background of the typical romance are:

- (a) Chivalric customs, and knightly qualities of the hero
- (b) Investitures
- (c) Foundations
- (d) Authentications
- (e) Political organization of the country
- (f) Central position of Arthur<sup>39</sup>

(a) *Chivalric customs and knightly qualities of the hero—*

In *Cligès*<sup>40</sup> we learn that a king's son on his travels should be accompanied by vassals (1275, 1483) . . . . While it is not customary for a king to engage in errantry, his sons always do

<sup>39</sup> These topics are chosen not only because they are the most characteristic ones, but also because they are the ones that Rabelais especially kept before him in constructing the background of his romance; and as the writer's intention is merely to establish a basis of comparison, they will be very briefly treated.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Jehan de Paris* for the retinue that accompanied Jehan to Spain. In the *Nibelungenlied* (strophe 60) twelve warriors accompanied Siegfried to the land of the Burgundians. See also P. Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France*, p. 424 and note 12.

so<sup>41</sup>. . . . The accouterment of the knight-errant consists of a horse and weapons—shield, lance, sword, though on occasion other weapons may be used, as the battle-ax in battle. Of his armor, the helmet and the hauberk are the parts more frequently mentioned.<sup>42</sup> . . . It is the knight's privilege, while in quest of adventures, to stop at any castle or other habitation, and claim hospitality for the night.<sup>43</sup> This custom has an extension: one lord may pay a visit to another in a purely social way, or under pretext of soliciting his help in any cause. During such visits the exchange of presents is not unusual.<sup>44</sup> The giving of presents is a manifestation of a king's largess, one of his essential attributes, for the lack of which he may be severely censured.<sup>45</sup>

Heralds and messengers play a not unimportant rôle in the romances. One of the functions of the latter is to bring news of an irruption of the enemy,<sup>46</sup> while a herald may be dispatched to the enemy's camp, as in *Le petit Artus de Bretagne* (chap. 103), in order to inquire the reason of such an invasion, and to protest against it.<sup>47</sup>

In the romances, the conquered king or the vanquished knight, if he would escape death, must yield himself to the victor, who has the disposal of him, and customarily imposes upon him a punishment considered adequate to the offence. The usual penalty is for the vanquished knight to present himself as a testimonial of his conqueror's prowess to a person the latter designates; but not infrequently the victor exercises his privilege of

<sup>41</sup> In the *Chevalier au papegau*, however, Arthur sets out in quest of adventures immediately after his coronation. Contrast in the *Lancelot* the aloofness of Arthur and the errantry of his nephews Gawain, Agravain, and Gareth, all sons of a king; or better still, note the contrast between the activities of Galehaut and Lancelot.

<sup>42</sup> See Schultz, II, 11-95, on medieval arms and armor; and pp. 132-133 for the weapons used in jousting.

<sup>43</sup> On the hospitality of the Middle Ages, see Schultz, I, 518-523.

<sup>44</sup> See Schultz, Index under *Geschenke*. At I, 637, Schultz discusses the exchange of presents between host and guest.

<sup>45</sup> *Erec*, 2060.

<sup>46</sup> Sommer, III, 128, 210, 394, etc.; *Lancelot* (1533), first part, ff. 33, 110, etc.

<sup>47</sup> On messengers in the Middle Ages, see Schultz, I, 175-178.

disposing of his opponent by abridging in some way or another his liberty of action.<sup>48</sup>

Probably the most striking of romance customs is that of holding consultations. These are ordinarily called for the purpose of interpreting dreams, though any portent may form their subject. In the *Lancelot* there are two very interesting illustrations of this custom. One of them is the council of wise men whom Galehaut summoned to explain a dream which presaged his coming death.<sup>49</sup> Indicative of the importance of this custom is the space devoted to such a convocation: the deliberations and explanations of the wise men on this occasion would fill about thirty-five pages of an ordinary book. In illustration, a consultation held at Arthur's behest may be instanced. The king dreamt that his hair and beard had fallen out, and two nights later he dreamt that his fingers had dropped off. He summoned his clergy and wise men to interpret these dreams. The clerks deliberated during nine days. After several adjournments, and threats from the king, they gave their interpretation: he would lose all earthly honor, and those in whom he most trusted would fail him against their own will.<sup>50</sup>

The essential knightly qualities that we find associated with these chivalric customs are valor, liberality, courtesy, and amiability.<sup>51</sup>

(b) *Investitures*—

The genesis of the customs of chivalry is undoubtedly to be traced to the social conventions of the period, while the knightly qualities of the hero are none other than those that have dis-

<sup>48</sup> *Lancelot* (1533), first part, f. 82; second part, f. 19, etc., etc.

<sup>49</sup> Sommer, IV, 19-34; *Lancelot* (1533), first part, ff. 120-124.

<sup>50</sup> Sommer, III, 199 *seq*; *Lancelot* (1533), first part, f. 51. Cf. *Merlin* (1498), first part, ff. 20-22, for the consultation ordered by Vortigern in order to explain why his castle fell several times successively into ruins.

<sup>51</sup> Sommer, III, 30, *passim* in the romances. *Merlin* (1498), first part, ff. 69, 76, offers good illustrations of largess.

tinguished the gentleman of all countries and times. Similarly the investitures<sup>52</sup> which are so common in the romances have their origin in the political and legal organization of feudal society, and correspond exactly to its enfeoffments. The romances are so replete with cases of investiture that it would be otiose to give illustrations.<sup>53</sup>

(c) *Foundations*<sup>54</sup>

As investitures are a reflection of the politico-legal organization of feudal society, so pious foundations mirror the religious customs of the times, when king, baron, or vavasor compounded his sins, or expressed his gratitude for a signal mercy shown, by founding or endowing a chapel, church, or monastery.<sup>55</sup> Examples of foundations also are countless in the romances, and accordingly require no special emphasis here.<sup>56</sup>

(d) *Authentications*

The medieval story teller invariably felt the necessity of accrediting his narrative, redundant with wonders as it usually was, and this he sought to do by connecting it with reality or a pseudo-reality. This literary convention assumes many forms. Two of the commonest consist in assigning a definite source,

<sup>52</sup> On forms of investiture in Middle Ages consult, under that word, P. A. Chéruel, *Dictionnaire des institutions, moeurs, et coutumes du moyen âge*.

<sup>53</sup> *Le petit Artus de Bretagne*, chap. 39; *Lancelot* (1533), third part, f. 53.

<sup>54</sup> On this topic and the preceding one, see Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, II, part 2, Book I, chap. 1 *passim* (Le régime féodal). This chapter gives an excellent panoramic view of life during the early feudal period.

<sup>55</sup> For the wide prevalence of the custom of founding and endowing churches, monasteries, etc., during the Middle Ages, see *La France monastique*, I, which gives a list of such foundations with names and dates. For a typical example of the occasion of a foundation, see in the first chapter of the *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello* the story of the founding of Battle Abbey by William the Conqueror, after the battle of Hastings.

<sup>56</sup> Sommer, V, 144-145; II, 249-250, etc. *L'hystoire du Saint Graal* (1516), f. 101, etc.

usually imaginary, to the narrative,<sup>57</sup> and in linking some of its incidents in a special manner with the localities in which they transpired. For instance, "Le mont au chat" is so called because on it Arthur slew the "cat-monster";<sup>58</sup> and the Ford of Blood at Arestuel was thus named owing to the great slaughter Arthur made there of the Saxons.<sup>59</sup> This literary practice passed into the popular romances and was given an extension verging on the grotesque.<sup>60</sup>

(e) *Political organization*—

In the romances the land is divided into an innumerable number of smaller kingdoms, each having its ruler, who may be independent or tributary to an overlord. Between these rulers there subsists perpetual war, chiefly between Arthur and the rest. These wars often are scarcely more than free-booting expeditions whose chief aim is conquest, devastation, and pillage. The pretext not seldom is frivolous. In illustration, in the *Perlesvaus*, King Madeglant wars upon Arthur because he spurned the love of Jandree, the former's sister. They are miniature wars in many cases, as is evidenced by the fact that Lancelot is sent against Madeglant with only forty knights and destroys him with all his force. (Cf. *L'hystoire du Saint Graal*, 1516, f. 192).

The case of Galehaut demands special stress in this connection, as he very likely suggested to Rabelais the character of

<sup>57</sup> In *Le Roman du Renart* the reason is given for invoking an authority or source. Regarding the warfare between Renart and Ysengrin, we are told:

Si je ne le trovasse el livre,  
Je tenisse celui por ivre  
Qui dite eust tele aventure;  
Mes l'en doit croire l'escripture.  
*A desenor muert a bon droit  
Qui n'aime livre ne ne croit.*

See also *P M L A*, XXXVIII, No. 1, at p. 61.

<sup>58</sup> Paulin Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, II, 362. *Perceforest* (1531) offers profuse illustrations of this practice.

<sup>59</sup> Sommer, III, 408; *L'hystoire du Saint Graal* (1516), f. 103, etc.

<sup>60</sup> See p. 162 for examples in the *Pantagruel*.

Picrochole. Galehaut, upon assuming his kingship, conceived the project, he tells Lancelot, of conquering the whole world. Up to the time he attacked Arthur, who was saved only by Lancelot's intervention, he had already vanquished thirty kings.<sup>61</sup> Now, Galehaut certainly did produce a marked impression on Rabelais, who mentions him twice, and Estrangore, one of his tributary kingdoms, once. There can be little doubt, when we recall Rabelais' genius for adaptation and amplification, that the prototype of the Picrocholine War is to be sought in the conflict between Galehaut and Arthur,<sup>62</sup> expanded with details drawn from Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, and that Picrochole's dream of universal conquest is a humorously exaggerated copy of the ambitious projects of the romance king.<sup>63</sup>

(f) *Position of Arthur in the Romances—*

As we have already seen, in the romances a king might not engage in *chevalerie*, or knight-errantry. He could, of course, in war assume his part in the conflict; or he might properly achieve an adventure that fortuitously presented itself to him;<sup>64</sup> or he might participate in tournaments. This aloofness of a king from the ordinary pursuits of knighthood is one of the well-defined literary conventions of the romance, as we may gather from this incident. In the *Lancelot*, Bohors emphatically refuses to accept at the hands of Lancelot investiture with the kingdom of Gannes, "car sitost comme j'averoi roiaume il me vendra lessier tote chevalerie, ou je veuille ou non; et c'est nulle honor a moi ne a vous. Et certes, plus averoi-je d'onor se j'estoie povre homme bon chevalier, que je n'aroi riche rois

<sup>61</sup> Sommer, III, 201; *Lancelot* (1533), first part, ff. 51, 114. For Italian echoes, see Berni, XXX, 71; Bojardo, Book I, XX, 44-45, Book II, I; *Morgante maggiore*, XXV, 194.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Parzival*, XV, 582-630, Weston's translation, for the conquests of Parzival and Feirefis. Universal conquest is a *motif* in several romances.

<sup>63</sup> Anything here said, of course, is not exclusive of M. Lefranc's views—which I accept as demonstrated—concerning the dispute between Rabelais' father and Gaucher de Sainte Marthe and its relationship with the *matière* of the Picrocholine War.

<sup>64</sup> Paulin Paris, II, 344-350.

recreant."<sup>65</sup> We find accordingly that although Arthur's court is the center whence the knights of the Round Table set forth in all directions in their quest of adventures, he himself does not share in the adventures of errantry; he constitutes, from the point of view of literary function, merely the keystone that holds together the romance edifice.

## § 2. WAR IN THE ROMANCES

So much for the romance background. Projected on it are the exploits of the hero, which may be presented under two aspects: under that of a knight engaged in errantry, and running through the gamut of conventional adventures—the avenging of a wronged person, the rescue of an imprisoned knight or maiden, the dissipation of the enchantments or evil customs of a castle, the jousting with every knight met on the road, deeds of valor at a tourney, all or any of them being interwoven in a measure with some love story or intrigue; and secondly, under the aspect of the deeds of the hero in time of war. This second and less important phase of the knightly activities of the romance hero, it has already been pointed out, is an epic characteristic retained in the evolution of the epic into the romance. It is, however, the only one which presently interests us.

In a general way, in the romances, the 'movement' of a war shows the following characteristics: an irruption of a king with his hosts into the territory of another; the arrival of a messenger announcing the news; the summoning of his vassals by the aggrieved prince; his taking the field with his forces; the battle or a siege.<sup>66</sup>

It would be idle to attempt to differentiate between the epic battle and the romance battle. On the one hand, both conform

<sup>65</sup> Paulin Paris, V, 323. However, in the *Lancelot* (1533), third part, f. 144, Lancelot invests Bohors with the kingdom of Benoit, and Lyonel with the kingdom of Gannes, and neither refuses.

<sup>66</sup> Sommer, III, 210, 394; *Lancelot* (1533), first part, f. 54; *Le petit Artus de Bretagne* chaps. 88–89; *L'hystoire du Saint Graal* (1516), ff. 21–30, offer typical examples of romance wars.



more or less to the manner of fighting employed in those days; on the other, the literary function of both is to supply a background for the exploits of the heroes. The only clear distinction between the two is the one that already has been made: in the typical epic, or in the Gest Romance directly derived from it, war and battles constitute an element of primary importance—a *sine qua non* of the exploits of the hero—whereas in the Arthurian Romances they are merely episodic and of minor importance.

### § 3. BACKGROUND IN RABELAIS

In the romances the background gives, to a considerable degree, a picture of feudal society and its organization, and of feudal private life. Rabelais was, in his turn, careful to construct a similar society in his first two books, but more particularly in the *Gargantua*, and to develop within its frame the story of his giants. The background of Rabelais' romance is strictly analogous with that of the Arthurian Romance.

#### (a<sub>1</sub>) *Chivalric customs and knightly qualities*—

In the *Pantagruel* it is only implied that Pantagruel, upon setting out on his university tour, is accompanied by a retinue—in chapter 5 we learn that his tutor, Epistemon, terminated a love affair in which he had incontinently become enmeshed in Avignon; and in chapter 6, when he meets with the Limousin at Orleans, he is taking a walk after supper with "his companions." In the *Gargantua*, where Rabelais shows himself more conscious of his models, we are specifically told that Gargantua left his father's court for Paris with a large body of attendants (chap. 16) . . . . In the *Picrocholine* and *Dipsodic* wars, it is the sons—Gargantua and Pantagruel, respectively—and not the fathers—Grandgousier and Gargantua—who lead the armies against the enemy, and, more closely analogous, in the last two books, it is Pantagruel who sets out in quest of the Holy Bottle—an undertaking which corresponds closely to the

errantry of the romance hero—while Gargantua remains at home . . . . The accouterment of the Rabelaisian hero tallies very closely with that of the romance hero. Part of Gargantua's education consists in "la chevalerie et les armes." He goes through the routine of chivalric exercises armed *cap à pie*, his weapons being the ax, the sword, and the dagger (1, 23). When Grandgousier learns of Picrochole's invasion, he calls for his armor, his lance, and his mace (1, 28). Gargantua and his companions, setting out on a reconnaissance of Picrochole's army, harness Frère Jean against his will from head to foot, hang to his side a broadsword, and place a lance in his hands.

The hospitality of the romances finds its reflection in Rabelais.<sup>67</sup> In *Gargantua* 12, three lords independently visit Grandgousier at the same time; and later Grandgousier dismisses Maître Jobelin Bridé, Gargantua's tutor, substituting in his stead Ponocrates, after a visit from the viceroy of Papeligosse, who shows him in Eudemon the superior efficacy of the modern education (1, 15).

Part of Gargantua's apparel is a purse "faite de la couille d'un oriflant," which had been presented to him by Herr Pracantal, consul of Libya (1, 8). Gargantua's mare, too, we recall, is a gift—of the king of Numidia; and Grandgousier shows his magnanimity by giving Toquedillon a beautiful sword when the latter, set at liberty, returns to Picrochole's camp.

Messengers and heralds, likewise, play their part in the Rabelaisian romance. Presumably it is a messenger who announces to Pantagruel the death of his father, and who bears to him the letter of the Parisian lady (11, 23); it is a messenger who brings to Grandgousier the news of Picrochole's incursion into his domains (1, 28), and Grandgousier sends Ulrich Gallet as his herald to remonstrate against this unfriendly act (1, 30).

Just as the vanquished knight in the romances is at the disposal of his victor, so in the *Pantagruel* Panurge similarly disposes of his prisoner, King Anarchus. He marries off the

<sup>67</sup> See Schultz, I, 363-367, for an account of feudal entertainments.

wretched fellow to an old lantern-carrying hag and makes him a crier of green sauce (II, 31).

The consultations which play so important a rôle in the *Lancelot* play an even more important one in Rabelais. It scarcely involves an exaggeration to assert that the whole of Book III was inspired by the consultations held for the explanation of dreams, which are so numerous in the *Lancelot*. The two essential elements of such an episode are, first, the dream, and second, the summoning of clerks to interpret it. We find the same elements in Rabelais: Panurge's dream and the wise men called together to explain it—one a theologian, one a physician, one a judge, and the fourth a philosopher. Rabelais made no organic change in this essential "donnée." He merely added to it without changing its fundamental aspect, and all his additions are analogous: they consist in Panurge's consulting additional persons, and, receiving no satisfactory answer, in his determination to journey to the oracle of the Holy Bottle for an explanation. ✓

The knightly qualities of his heroes are nowhere specifically set forth in Rabelais. The reader need not be Aristarchus-eyed, however, to discover them. The courtesy and amiability of the three giants stand out on almost every page; indeed, Pantagruel is called "le meilleur petit et grand bon hommet que oncques ceignit espee" (III, 2) . . . The valor of Gargantua, Pantagruel, and Frère Jean shines in contrast with the cowardice of Picrochole, Anarchus, and Panurge . . . Finally, we have many examples of the liberality of the Rabelaisian hero (I, 45, 46, etc.); and we are told that a noble and generous prince "hath never a penny, and to hoard up treasure is but a clownish trick" (I, 33).

(b<sub>1</sub>) *Investitures*—

In the *Pantagruel*, upon Maître Alcofribas' reappearance from his six months' exploration of Pantagruel's interior, the latter announces to him the conquest, in the interim, of the Land of the Dipsodes, and invests him with the lordship of Salmigon-

din (II, 32). Grandgousier, in the *Gargantua*, rewards in a most princely manner the members of his household who had assisted in the repulse of Picrochole's hordes. "To Ponocrates he gave Roche-Clermaud; to Gymnast, Coudray; to Eudemon, Montpensier; Rivau, to Tolmère; to Ithybolle, Montsoreau; to Acamas, Cande; Varnes, to Chironacte; Gravot, to Sebast; Quinquenais, to Alexander; Legré, to Sophrone; and so of his other places" (I, 51).

(c<sub>1</sub>) *Foundations*—

Frère Jean was still left to be provided for. Grandgousier offered him the abbotcy of Seuillé, but he refused it. Next the king offered him the abbey of Bourgueil, or of Saint Florent, but he was unwilling to assume the charge or government of monks, and asked Grandgousier leave to found an abbey after his own mind and fancy. This request found favor with Gargantua, who offered Frère Jean all his country of Thélème. The Abbey of Thélème constitutes a monument to Rabelais' belief in free will and to his faith in the essential nobility of human nature. The motto of the abbey was: FAIS CE QUE VOULDRAS, "because men that are free, well-born, well-bred, and conversant in honest companions, have naturally an instinct and spur which are called honour that prompteth them unto virtuous actions, and withdraws them from vice" (I, 57).

(d<sub>1</sub>) *Authentications*—

Rabelais strove to impart to his narrative an air of reality by employing two formulas, one a literary convention found throughout medieval French literature, the other a trick of the popular romances of his time; the first consists in giving a bookish source for his narrative and connecting it with existent localities, the second in making meticulous use of precise and exact testimony. In *Gargantua* I Rabelais pretends that he found an account of the "genealogy and antiquity of Gargan-

tua" in a booklet discovered in an underground tomb of bronze,<sup>68</sup> and by implication he tells his readers that he became acquainted with Pantagruel and his deeds in a "story" (II, 4, 28) . . . The peregrinations of Gargantua and Pantagruel leave their traces here and there in a place name or a local curiosity. How did the province of Beauce acquire its name? From the fact that after his mare had felled the forests of the region with her tail, Gargantua observed: "Je trouve beau ce" (I, 16). In the succeeding chapter we learn when and under what circumstances Paris was so named. In *Pantagruel* 4 we are told that the great bell of Bourges was nothing else than the gruel bowl of the young Pantagruel.<sup>69</sup> Several additional examples of such authentications occur in the same chapter.

One of the popular elements in Rabelais is the use of statistics, and exact figures which are never round. The appareling of Gargantua, in I, 8, furnishes an example of the first, while the colony of Utopians which Pantagruel transplants into the Land of the Dipsodes (III, 1) is one of the many illustrations of the latter.

(e<sub>1</sub>) *Political organization*—

Like Britain in the Arthurian Romances, France in the romance of Rabelais is divided into a large number of separate kingdoms, some independent, like Picrochole's, and some tributary. In *Gargantua* 31, the Poitevins, Bretons, Manceaux are referred to as "nations barbares" which are not even the allies of Grandgousier; in chapter 37 Ponocrates wishes he were "roy de Paris" so that he might burn to the ground the infamous Montagu College; in chapter 47 the confederates of Grandgousier who proffer their assistance in repelling Picrochole's onslaught constitute a formidable list; and finally, in *Pantagruel* 4, Gargantua is represented as giving a banquet in honor of "all the princes of his court."

<sup>68</sup> Such an artifice is frequent in the romances, but Rabelais' is an imitation of Folengo's in the preface of his *Baldus* (see Thuausne, *Etudes sur Rabelais*, 180-181).

<sup>69</sup> *R. S. S.* IV, 162.

As in the romances, these kingdoms are frequently at war with one another, or with foreign countries. In *Gargantua* 50 three such conflicts are enumerated: the war between Grandgousier and the Bretons, the assault of the barbarians of Spagnola against Grandgousier's ports of Olone and Thalmondois, and the invasion by the Canarians of the province of Onys and the Armorican Islands. Finally, we must not omit to recall the Picrocholine and Dipsodie wars.

(f<sub>1</sub>) *Position of Grandgousier and Gargantua in the Romance—*

Rabelais was careful, in his desire to make his romance conform as closely as it might with his models, to imitate one of their most important, if least obtrusive, characteristics. The aloofness of Arthur in the romances is exaggerated in the aloofness of Grandgousier in the *Gargantua*, and of Gargantua in the *Pantagruel* and the last three books. In *Gargantua* 28, upon receiving the news of Picrochole's onslaught, Grandgousier laments the necessity to which he is put in his old age to don armor and arm himself with lance and mace, but nevertheless the good king quietly stays at home while his son, with his companions, deals with Picrochole. In the *Pantagruel*, Gargantua is never found in the main current of the action after it really gets under way; and more striking still is his detachment from the interests and pursuits of his household in the third book. The reader will recall the pretty touch in III, 35, when Trouillogan, the philosopher, is treating of the "difficulty of marriage" in hair-splitting equivocations: "En cestuy instant Pantagruel aperceut vers la porte de la salle le petit chien de Gargantua, lequel il nommoit Kyne, pource que tel fut le nom du chien de Tobie. Adonc dist à toute la compagnie: 'Nostre roy n'est pas loing d'icy, levons nous.'" A new Pantagruel we have here! Now for the first time Gargantua hears of Panurge's dilemma; yet whatever interest he feels in it, or curiosity in the deliberations of the wise men, is soon dashed by Trouillogan's Pyrrhonism, and he leaves the consultation to proceed without

him . . . Gargantua does not set out with the others in quest of the Holy Bottle, naturally, but he sees them off at the port of embarkation, and in the fourth chapter of the fourth book he comes into the story for the last time; he sends his squire, Malicorne, in the swift *Chelidoine* with a message for *Pantagruel*, who overtakes him at *Medamothi* on the third day of the voyage—an incident in a way recalling to mind the quest after a *quester* in the romances.

#### § 4. WAR IN RABELAIS

There are adventures in the work of Rabelais, and there is no lack of errantry, but save in one respect the exploits of the Rabelaisian heroes are entirely dissimilar from the usual exploits of the heroes of the old romances. Nor do the adventures of the knight of *La Mancha*, for that matter, in any wise resemble those of the *Amadis*es and the *Primaleons*. In both Rabelais and *Cervantes* the burlesque and the rationalizing intent set up a peremptory bar against a treatment in the traditional manner. The exception, however, in Rabelais is furnished by the exploits of *Gargantua*, *Pantagruel*, and *Frère Jean*, in the *Picrocholine* and *Dipsodic* wars.

The movement of the *Picrocholine War*, for example, is precisely that of the wars of the *Arthurian Romances*. There is the summoning of his vassals by a king and his irruption into a neighbor's territory (1, 26); the messenger announcing the news to the latter (1, 28); the latter's taking the field with his forces (1, 48); and finally the battle and the assault of a castle (1, 48).

As in the romances, the exploits of the Rabelaisian heroes are projected against these wars as a background—the defense of *Seuillé* by *Frère Jean* (1, 27); the rout of a band of pillagers from *Picrochole's* army by *Gymnaste* (1, 34–35); the demolition of the castle of *Vède* by *Gargantua*, *Frère Jean*, *Ponocrates*, *Gymnaste*, and *Eudemon* (1, 36, 42–44); and finally the deeds of valor of *Gargantua* and *Frère Jean* at the assault of *Roche-Clermaud* (1, 48).

Rabelais greatly diversified and enriched all this medieval matter by profuse borrowings from a great number of various sources but chiefly from contemporary and classical authors. For example, from Geoffroy Tory he drew the episode of the Limousin scholar (II, 6); from Folengo he obtained several of his characters, chief among them Panurge; Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, possibly in conjunction with other Italian sources, such as the *Orlando furioso* (Alcina's palace in canto VII) and Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* made many contributions of details to the Abbey of Thélème, if they did not actually suggest the main idea; Erasmus furnished many of the views which Rabelais sets forth on war.

To the classics Rabelais is indebted for a good half of his work, according to Plattard.<sup>70</sup> To the ancients he owes a vast number of maxims, allusions, quotations, anecdotes, and illustrative matter. They furnished him, more obviously, numerous citations for many of his parades of recondite learning, as well as incidents in his story. The prologue of the *Gargantua*, for instance, is almost a solid mass of classical lore; for the eleven-month period of gestation which Gargantua underwent he cites eight antique writers (I, 3); for his strange birth he cites several more (I, 6). In support of his statements on the symbolism of white, he marshals eleven classical names. The description of Hell which Epistemon gives in *Pantagruel* 30, and the altered condition there of the mighty and the humble of earth, who have changed estate, is traceable to Lucian's *Menippus seu Necyomantia*, and the exploration of Pantagruel's interior by Maître Alcofribas is closely copied after a similar episode in the *True History*. . . . These citations might be multiplied indefinitely, but the writer's aim is merely to give a bare idea of Rabelais' literary method.

The formal correspondences, as they have above been set forth, between Rabelais' first two books and the Arthurian Romances

<sup>70</sup> See the chapter, "L'humanisme," pp. 171 seq., in his *L'oeuvre de Rabelais*, for a classified list of Rabelais' classical sources.



are clear-cut and specific—especially in the *Gargantua*, where Rabelais' increased mastery of form is strikingly evident—and betray a solicitude which he is at pains to conceal.<sup>71</sup> In the next chapter we shall examine into the nature and contents of the last two books, and shall find in them similarities to the Grail-quest romances which, for all that they are not very obvious and have never before been pointed out, none the less are real, and establish beyond doubt the parentage of this cycle of romances.

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<sup>71</sup> See Prologue of the *Gargantua*: "Car à la composition de ce livre seigneurial je ne perdis ne employay oncques plus ny aultre temps que celuy qui estoit estably à prendre ma refection corporelle, sçavoir est beuvant et mangent."

## CHAPTER V

THE QUEST IDEA AS SHOWN IN THE VOYAGE TO  
THE DIVE BOUTEILLE

## I

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Even in the earliest epics and romances extensive wanderings on the part of the hero were considered essential in order to impart to the narrative an air of exotism and dignity, or in order to introduce into the story the elements of mystery and magic. These elements appear more probable to the reader when a distance in time or space intervenes, when they have the fewest points of contact with everyday reality. In these conditions they excite wonder and pleasure in him.

The ocean has ever been the highway of marvelous travelers. It is on the ocean that Homer launches Ulysses, and Vergil, Aeneas. It is on the ocean that Lucian places the starting point of the marvelous journey in his *True History*. The ocean is the stage of an endless number of medieval journeys.

Journeys on the mysterious and boundless waters form the matter of Irish story tellers especially. Their tales constitute a definite type of story called *imrama*, or "oversea voyages," whose development reached its apex in the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> The most famous of them is the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, a species of Christian Odyssey which in the Middle Ages enjoyed an immense popularity. Written originally in Latin, it was translated or recast, both in verse and prose, into many of the European languages, and profoundly affected their literature.

<sup>1</sup> See Meyer and Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, I, chaps. 4, 9, and Arthur C. L. Brown, *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 65-84, "From Cauldron of Plenty to Grail." For a discussion of *Imrama*, see A. C. L. Brown, "Iwain," *Harvard Studies in Philology*, VIII (1903), 56-94.

The story of Saint Brendan has left obvious traces on the body of Grail literature. Dorothy Kempe, in her Introduction to Lonelich's translation of the *Grand Saint Graal*,<sup>2</sup> points out the Brendian elements in this romance. Still clearer are the traces of the legend in parts of the *Perlesvaus* and the *Lancelot du Lac*. These will be considered later.

The seven years' journey of Saint Brendan in search of the Earthly Paradise has two parallels in the Middle Ages, one in reality, the other in fiction, both motivated by powerful spiritual influences of a closely allied nature. The first is the conquest of the Holy Land, the second, the conquest of the Holy Grail.

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<sup>2</sup> *Early English Text Society, Extra Series, XCV* . . . . The Judas episode of the *Navigatio*—in which St. Brendan holds converse with Judas, who is imprisoned on a rock in a stormy sea—is faithfully reproduced in *Huon de Bordeaux* (1513); (cf. Lord Berners' translation in *Early English Text Society, XL*, chap. 108).

## II

## THE HOLY GRAIL IN THE ROMANCES AND IN RABELAIS

In the last eighty years a great discussion has centered about the origin and meaning of the Grail legend. Three chief theories have been proposed to account for it: (1) the conception of the Grail originated in Christian legend connected with the crucifixion of Christ; (2) the legend, originally a Celtic conception, "by a process of glorification and ecclesiasticisation" (Brown), was imperfectly Christianized by the French poets; (3) it sprang from some ritual of the Vegetation Spirit, which survived the fall of the ancient world of paganism and continued down into the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> Chrétien de Troyes presumably was the first to introduce the Grail *motif* in the literature of Western Europe, though he only faintly adumbrated the nature and subsequent development of the Grail legend. His successors seized upon the Grail story as they found it in Chrétien, and quickly gave it an extension that, while it preserved and even developed some of its primitive aspects, primarily invested it with a spiritual significance. Also they did not always clearly perceive the meaning and implications of the vessel, either in its original form, or in its new stage of development, and consequently the legend in its evolution and

<sup>3</sup> On the Christian theory, see A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Die Sage vom Gral* (1877), chap. 6; on the Celtic theory, Alfred Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* (1888), chap. 7, and A. C. L. Brown, *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 65-84, and his important articles entitled *The Grail and the English Sir Perceval*, *Mod. Phil.*, XVI, 553-568, XVII, 361-382, XVIII, 201-228, 661-673, XXII, 79-96; on the Ritual theory, Wm. A. Nitze, *The Fisher King in the Grail Romances*, *P M L A*, XXIV, 365-418, and Jessie L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval* (1909) II, *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (1913), *From Ritual to Romance* (1920). For the latest review of the three theories, see J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (1923), I, part ii, chaps. 1, 2, 3. Nitze's review of Bruce's work might be read, *Mod. Phil.*, XXII, 99-106. In vol. I, part ii, chap. 8, Bruce briefly reviews the minor theories on the Grail legend.

diffusion went through a number of phases not only not in accord but often contradictory with one another. Eventually the legend passed into profane literature with Rabelais, who, in his burlesque conception of it, exhibits it to us within the limits of his romance in almost as great a variety of aspects as he might have found it in the Grail romances printed in his time.

In the following pages are presented the accidents and properties of the Grail as it appears in Rabelais' parody in Books iv, and v, and the parallelisms with it found in the romances accessible to him.

Rabelais mentions the Grail four times—once in a letter to Antoine Hullet, dated the first of March, which Lefranc assigns to the year 1542,<sup>4</sup> twice in Book iv, and once in Book v.<sup>5</sup> Here are the texts:

From the letter to Hullet (Moland, p. 621):

Or vous le ferez, non quand il vous playra, mais quand le vouloir vous apportera de celluy grand, bon, piteux Dieu, lequel ne créa onques le quaresme, ouy bien les sallades, arans, merluz, carpes, bechetz, dares, umbrines, ablettes, rippes, etc. *Item*, les bons vins, singulièrement celuy de veteri enucleando lequel on garde icy a vostre venue, comme ung sang greal et une seconde, voire quinte essence.

iv, 42: Pantagruel demandoit à quel propous et quelle indication curative il avoit tant de moustarde en terre projetée. La Roynne respondit que moustarde estoit leur Sangreal et baume céleste: duquel mettant quelque peu dedans les playes des andouilles terrassées, en bien peu de temps les navrées guérissent, les mortes ressuscitoient.

iv, 43: Car on lui avoit robbé une veze pleine de vent propre que jadis à Ulysses donna le bon ronfleur Aeolus pour guider sa nauf en temps calme. Lequel il gardoit religieusement comme ung autre Sangreal, et en guerissoit plusieurs enormes maladies . . .

<sup>4</sup> Lefranc, Chronology, I.

<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that each one of these allusions occurs during the second part of Rabelais' productive period, the first probably about the time he was projecting the last three books. Though this point should not too strongly be insisted upon, nevertheless it would seem that if the Grail is mentioned only synchronously with the second part of his work, and mentioned relatively so frequently, there must have been a close connection in his mind between the two.

v, 10: Là aussi nous dist estre un flasque de Sang greal<sup>6</sup> chose divine et à peu de gens conneue.

Finally, in v, 44, the Holy Bottle is introduced, which, though not specifically so called, is *the* Grail in Rabelais. Herewith is its description: ". . . la sacrée Bouteille, toute revestue de pur et beau cristalin en forme ovale, excepté que le limbe estoit quelque peu patent plus qu'icelle forme ne porteroit." In v, 45, in answer to Panurge's question, the Bottle utters the mystic word, *Trinc!*

It is clear that Rabelais in his parody varied from time to time his burlesque conception of the Grail. In the passages quoted above the Grail either is described as possessing, or is joined with similarly endowed objects possessing, the following forms:

#### A. FORMS<sup>7</sup>

(a) In v, 10, it is a liquid—the Holy Blood. In addition, in the letter to Hullet it is introduced in connection with the word "vins."

(b) In iv, 42, mustard with curative powers is likened to it.

(c) In iv, 43, wind likewise endowed is linked with it.

(d) In v, 44, it is by implication a bottle.

<sup>6</sup> Rabelais has the spellings *Sang greal* and *Sangreal* twice each. In v, 10, he very obviously confuses the Grail with the *Holy Blood*. He could have taken this trait either from the *Perlesvaus* or the *Grand Saint Graal*. The forms *Sang greal* and *Sangreal*, however, are not found in the romances just mentioned. They are burlesque forms of his own or the repetition of forms current at the time he was writing. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (1923), I, 255, note 37, says: "'Saint Greal,' in the later romances (fifteenth century), owing to a false division of the two words, came to be understood as 'Sang Real'—i.e., Blood Royal, meaning the Blood of Christ, which the Grail was supposed to contain." W. Hertz, *Parzival von Wolfram von Eschenbach, neu bearbeitet* (1898), says at p. 424: "To it [the dish in which Joseph collected the Blood of Christ], as the most important hallow, was also added the false interpretation, current in the later Middle Ages, of the word *San-Greal*, Holy Dish, as *Sangreal*, royal blood. This interpretation Oswald von Wolkenstein seems to have in mind when he says that Christ redeemed the fall of Adam with his *grâl*. Also Rabelais in his parody uses the expression in this sense when he relates how, in the Isle de Cassade, *ung flasque de Sangreal* was shown with the greatest solemnity." Consult the *New English Dictionary* under *Sangreal*, *Sang royal*, *Sanke royal*, and Godefroy, *Complement*, under *Sanc*. On blood relics in the Middle Ages, see Hertz, 454–455.

<sup>7</sup> Wm. A. Nitze, *PMLA*, XXIV, 406: "'Hence it becomes technically possible as in P [*Peredur*] to have a Grail romance in which the Grail is replaced by an equivalent; namely the head on a salver.'" In the *Parzival* it is a stone, the *lapis exilis*.

## B. VIRTUES

Of the four times that Rabelais mentions the Grail, only twice does he attribute to it magical qualities. In the letter to Hullet it is merely associated with wine. In v, 10, it is apparently identified with the relics of Glastonbury, of which Rabelais, as a monk, might know (cf. note 8, p. 213). In neither of these two cases is anything more than a certain curiosity, or at the most oddity—especially in the second—implied about it. However, in the passages from Book iv, the idea of magical healing is specifically set forth in association with it. We are told in iv, 42, that mustard has the virtue of healing the wounded, and resuscitating the dead; and in iv, 43, that wind has the virtue of overcoming the gravest maladies. Finally, the Holy Bottle shares with the Grail its ability to counsel and prophesy.

Stated briefly, Rabelais associates the Grail with objects endowed with the following attributes:

- (a) With the power of physical refection (letter to Hullet).
- (b) With the power of healing (iv, 42, 43).
- (c) With the power to counsel and prophesy (the Holy Bottle).

## C. MISCELLANEOUS ATTRIBUTES

These additional traits should be noted:

First, the Grail is located on various so to say inaccessible islands of the mysterious ocean, and in Cathay.

Second, on two occasions when the Grail appears before the entire company, or Panurge alone, an elaborate ceremonial is prescribed. "Panurge fit tant par belles prieres avec les syndics du lieu qu'ils le nous monstrèrent; mais ce fut avec plus de cérémonies et solennité plus grande trois fois qu'on ne montre à Florence les Pandectes de Justinian, ne la Veronique à Rome" (v, 10). The ceremonial of the Holy Bottle, in v, 44-45, is too long and elaborate to be given in its entirety. Suffice it to say that Panurge was clad in a green gaberdine (the Grail is associated in the *Grand Saint Graal* with a green corporale,

Hertz, p. 504) in order to appear before the shrine of the Bottle, that he went through a complicated ritual before the Bottle was sufficiently propitiated to utter the prophetic word.

Third, it is usually provided with a large body of guards and keepers (cf. v, 35).

Turning to the list and the table of romances in the second chapter, the reader will see that there were in print and easily accessible to Rabelais when he wrote the last three books the following romances dealing with the Holy Grail and its history:

*L'hystoire du Saint Graal* (see p. 156 for the contents of this romance).

*Lancelot du Lac* (part 4, *La Queste du Saint Graal*).

*Perceval le Gallois* (preceded by *L'Elucidation du Saint Graal*).

*Merlin*.

Of these four romances, Rabelais mentions only the *Lancelot* and the *Merlin*. However, in the four passages where he directly alludes to the Grail, and in the attributes which he assigns to the Holy Bottle, he invests his Grail with such a large and varied number of 'traits' as to lead one to the conclusion that his acquaintance with the Grail romances extant in his day went beyond these two romances.

From these four romances what information might Rabelais have gathered concerning the characteristics and attributes of the Grail? For ease of reference, the 'traits' attributed to the Grail in the romances and in Rabelais have been classified similarly.

#### A. FORMS

(a) The Grail is the Dish—"ung plat ou escuelle"—of the Last Supper, in which Joseph of Arimathea collected the blood from the wounds of Christ on the cross. (*L'hystoire du Saint Graal*, 1516, ff. 5-6.)



(b) It is a chalice-shaped vessel of great beauty and brightness, of some unknown material, and suggesting a lamp. (*Lancelot*, 1533, second part, f. 51; third part, f. 59.)

(c) It is not clear what the Grail is meant to be. (*Perceval*).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See 1918 reprint of *Perceval* (1530), Payot and Co., Paris.

It is not clear what Chrétien meant the Grail to be. (On the word *Graal* in the romances, see Birch-Hirschfeld, 187-188; for the latest views on the word, see Wm. A. Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 185 seq., and Bruce, I, 253-255). Chrétien always calls it *graal* and never *Saint Graal*, though he does say that it is *sainctisme*. He has only one passage that ascribes sanctity to the vessel, in that the Grail is such a holy thing that the father of the Fisher King is sufficiently nourished by a single *oiste* brought to him in it (7796-7799). In the *Chronicle of Helinandus* (Paulin Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, I, 90) the vessel is described as a "scutella lata et aliquantulum profunda, in qua pretiosae dapes, cum suo jure, solent apponi et dicitur nomine Graal." In the same entry (for the year 717) it is connected with the Dish of the Last Supper "... de catino illo vel paropsodie in quo dominus coenavit cum discipulis suis." When the Crusaders captured Caesarea in 1101 "a flat, saucer-like, hexagonal dish of emerald-colored glass" fell to the Genoese in their portion of the spoils. Later a tradition arose that this vessel had been used at the Last Supper, its substance having become miraculously changed into emerald (Bruce, I, 360-362). Several other traditions of the Grail were current in the Middle Ages: the large silver cup called *Calix domini*, containing a sponge said to have been the one used on the lips of Christ; two vessels containing blood from Christ's wounds, brought, according to tradition, by Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury and there buried with his body, in commemoration whereof the escutcheon of Glastonbury was a cross with drops and two phials (John Colin Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, revised with notes and appendix by Henry Wilson (1906), I, 463-470; Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 223 and note 2; W. Hertz, *Parzival von Wolfram von Eschenbach, neu bearbeitet* (1898), 456-458.) In *Le Grand Saint Graal* the Grail is the cup of the Last Supper: "lescuele en lequele le flex dieu avoit mangiet" (Sommer, I, 13). Joseph celebrates the first Eucharistic sacrament ("le sacrement de ma chair & de mon sanc") in a chalice. In the chalice are *pain* and *vins* called *saint boire* (Sommer, I, 40). In *Lestoire de Merlin* this chalice came from heaven. Robert de Boron makes Christ thus speak of it in his discourse to Joseph:

Cest vaisseau ou mien sanc meis  
Quant de mon cors le requueillis  
Calices apelez sera . . .

But Robert identifies the Grail with the dish of the last supper also 395 seq., 433 seq., 507 seq., 563 seq. Cf. Bruce, I, 245.

In the Vulgate *Merlin* and *Perlesvaus* the Grail is the vessel in which Joseph of Arimathea received the blood from the wound of Christ on the cross (Nutt, *The Legend of the Holy Grail* (1888), p. 69). In Wolfram's *Parzival* the Grail is a stone, the *lapis exilis*. It has no direct connection with the Passion of Christ (Nutt, p. 66) save that its virtues are renewed every Holy Friday by a dove from heaven, which places a host on the Grail. So with Wolfram the Grail is a reflection of those precious stones which medieval superstition endowed with curative powers.

## B. VIRTUES

(a) The Grail has the power of physical refection. (In the *Perceval*, 1530, f. 218, the Grail appears daily and serves to Arthur and his court the delicacies each could desire.<sup>9</sup> It has the same virtue in *Lancelot*, 1533, second part, ff. 51, 85; third part, f. 68; in *L'hystoire du Saint Graal*, 1516, ff. 91, 104, etc.<sup>10</sup>)

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Rabelais, v, 43: "Icy de mesmes beuvans de ceste liqueur mirifique sentirez goust de tel vin comme l'aurez imaginé. Or imaginez et beuvez."

<sup>10</sup> In Chrétien the word *graal* is a common noun and designates simply a dish of some sort used in conveying food to an unseen person. With his successors the word was made a proper noun, was regularly preceded by the adjective *saint*, and the vessel became a mystical talisman endowed with supernatural powers of various kinds.

Its chief function in the old romances, except in Chrétien and Robert, is to supply with food and often wine. This idea is first distinctly met with in Pseudo-Wauchier, 20114 *seq.*, where the Grail performs the service at a supper and supplies the tables with meat and drink (see Bruce, I, 294, note 10, for magical objects in folklore with food-producing powers, and a distinction between these and the miracle of the multiplied fish in Robert). In *Le Grand Saint Graal* (Sommer, I, 216) it multiplies twelve loaves of bread into five hundred, and a fish cut in four into such a large number of pieces that the whole is sufficient to feed Joseph and his five hundred companions. In the *Lancelot du Lac* (Sommer, V, 393) it daily feeds Pelles and his household. In the *Parzival* it has the same qualities of refection. In *Le Grand Saint Graal* (Sommer, I, 250) it furnishes with all the good viands the heart of each could desire. The food provided by the Grail, accordingly, is adapted to the tastes of all: each knight has such meats and drinks as he loves best in the world.

The refection furnished by the Grail is also spiritual, but for the elect only: "Et maintenant tous ceux auxquels il sera donné de voir d'un coeur pur le vase que je te confie seront des miens: ils auront satisfaction de coeur, et joie perdurable" (Paulin Paris, I, 132, 142, 277; Bruce, I, 237-238: "With Robert . . . it is a vessel of 'grace' in whose service only the good and pure can remain").

Another function of the Grail is to counsel and prophecy. So in *Le Saint Graal* Joseph of Arimathea, by kneeling and praying before the Grail, obtains counsel and aid from the Holy Ghost (Paulin Paris, I, 145, 148, 197). Likewise in the *Parzival* (Weston's translation, IX, 865-866) the Grail promises aid to the Grail knights praying before it in order to beseech a cure for King Amfortas.

Among the more remarkable powers of the Grail is its ability to heal. Two noteworthy examples occur in the *Lancelot*. When Lancelot was conducted, for the second time, under a spell, to the bed of Helayne, the mother of Galahad, he was discovered by Guenevere, who in her anger bade him go away forever. In his grief he was visited with one of his fits of madness, and wandered long through the country as a wild man. In the fourth year of his affliction he chanced to come to Corbenic, where months afterwards, he was recognized by Helayne. King Pelles had him bound and put in a bed. In the night the Grail goes about in the palace,

(b) It has the power of healing (*Lancelot*, 1533, third part, ff. 59, 62, 76, etc.).

(c) It has the ability to counsel and prophesy. (In the *Grand Saint Graal* it exercises this power directly; in *L'hystoire du Saint Graal*, 1516, its power to counsel and prophesy seems to be exercised on a few occasions through an associated supernatural voice (f. 101), or through a supernatural monitor (f. 118); but in general it is exercised through the keepers of the Grail—Joseph and his son Josephe (ff. 103, 107, etc.).<sup>11</sup>

#### C. MISCELLANEOUS ATTRIBUTES

First, the Grail resides in places accessible in some romances to ordinary mortals, and inaccessible in others.<sup>12</sup> (In *L'hystoire*

and as soon as Lancelot sets eyes on it he is healed (Sommer V, 398–400; *Lancelot* (1533), third part, f. 62). The second example is the cure it operates on Perceval and a strange knight who turns out to be Hector des Mares. The two meet and, not recognizing each other, battle long and desperately, until they fall to the ground mortally wounded. As they feel death approaching a great brightness suddenly surrounds them. They see a chalice-shaped vessel draw near them, preceded and followed by two lighted tapers. Instinctively they reverently bow their heads before the vessel, and immediately they are healed and the vessel vanishes (Sommer, V, 392; *Lancelot* (1533), third part, f. 59).

<sup>11</sup> In *L'hystoire du Saint Graal* (1516), ff. 227–228 (228–229, correctly), is reproduced the story from the *Lancelot* (see *infra* p. 222 and note 21) of the adventures of Lancelot and Galahad during their six-months' journey together on the ship in quest of the Grail. In each romance Lancelot is started on this adventure in the same way: he is asleep in the midst of a forest and waters when he hears a voice which bids him rise, arm himself, and enter into the first ship he should encounter. Upon opening his eyes he finds himself enveloped in a *grant clerté*. But the conclusions of the versions show an interesting variant. In the *Lancelot* we read: "En icelle nef demourerent Lancelot et Galahad bien demy an et plus . . . et par plusieurs foys arriverent en ysles estranges ou il ne reparoit sinon bestes sauvages et y trouverent aventures merveilleuses lesquelles ils misrent a fin tant par leur proesse que par la grace du saint esperit qui en tous lieux leur aydoit" (f. 111). *L'hystoire du Saint Graal* has this reading: ". . . lesquelles ils misrent a fin tant par leur proesse que par la grace du saint greal qui en tous lieux leur aydoit." The variant in *L'hystoire* very likely identifies the voice and the *grant clerté* with the Grail, thus bringing the vessel in line with its power to counsel and prophesy, adverted to in the first part of the romance.

<sup>12</sup> The location of the Grail in the old romances is, so to say, in a state of flux. In some of the romances it possesses a single habitation, which it does not leave, as in the *Parzival*; in others, as in the *Queste*, it travels about—it is here today, gone tomorrow. Again, in several romances, the

*du Saint Graal*, 1516, f. 119, the Grail is said to have been visited by many knights; see also the citations from the *Lancelot* under B<sub>1</sub> above).

Second, when the Grail appears before the quester, it is usually seen in a pageant (*Perceval, L'hystoire du Saint Graal*, 1516, f. 145).<sup>13</sup>

Third, the Grail in the romances always has a keeper, usually a king, who is attended by a retinue (*Perceforest*, 1531, part vi, f. 116, and citations from the *Lancelot*).<sup>14</sup>

Grail is located in an inaccessible place, as in the *Perceval* and the German cycle; in others it is no wise so, as in the *Lancelot*, where Gawain, Lancelot, and Bohors visit the Grail castle more than once (Sommer, IV, 339; V, 105; V, 139, 294). In general, Corbenic is, in the French romances, the permanent home of the Grail. Frequently the vessel is visible to all but the impure and the unchaste. So in the *Perlesvaus* it fails to appear before Lancelot because of his guilty love for Guenevere.

In the *Perceval* romances, the Grail resides in the castle of the Fisher King. In the *Parzival* it is kept at Montsalvatch (Mons salvationis), which is located in the Pyrenees, near Barcelona. In *Der jüngere Titurel* the Grail legend is married to that of Prester John (Hertz, pp. 453, 549). In it the Grail and its guardians, Parzival, Lohengrin, Kondwiramur, and the Templars, in the train of Arthur and all his chivalry, carry the Grail to India, into the realms of Prester John, and it dwells to this day with its guardians in the remote places of the Eastern world. In the *Queste* the Grail is finally assumed to heaven itself.

On this, see Wm. A. Nitze, *PMLA*, XXIV, at p. 375.

<sup>13</sup> The first time we meet the Grail in the old romances—in the *Perceval*—it appears in a pageant. As the pageant lends itself very readily to decoration, in the subsequent romances it was extended and became highly developed. One of the most decorative of these pageants occurs in *Le Saint Graal*.

In Chrétien, *Perceval* sees in the palace of the Fisher King a youth coming from a room, bearing a lance whose point drops blood. He is followed by two youths, who pass through the hall where *Perceval* is, and who go to another room. They carry ten-branched candlesticks all aflame with candles. These are followed by a maiden, who in both her hands carries a dish (the Grail). She is followed by another maiden carrying a small silver platter (3152-3204). In one of Gawain's visits to Corbenic the Grail is carried around the tables by maidens and fills the plates of all, save Gawain. In *Le Saint Graal* (Dunlop (1906), I, 478) eight angels carry the Grail and other hallows in procession before Joseph. In brief, in the romances in general, the Grail castle is a place of highest reverence, and all things concerning the Grail are done with ceremonial solemnity and after a prescribed order. It should be noted, however, that in the later accounts, in the *Queste*, for instance, there are no more ceremonials, no more processions, for the Grail has left its home and is going about through the land.

<sup>14</sup> In the old romances there are two different lines of keepers. In Chrétien the keeper is called the Fisher King and his name and lineage

Comparing the conception and treatment of the Grail in Rabelais and in the romances, we notice a remarkable number of parallelisms. The only striking departure Rabelais shows from his models is in the fourfold form he assigns to his Grail,<sup>15</sup> and the broad burlesque that permeates each one of his different conceptions of it. Naturally, nowhere in the romances is the Grail likened to wine, or mustard, or anything like them, or even to a bottle. But the diversity of aspects under which it appears in the various romances was of itself enough to suggest to Rabelais that in this respect at least his burlesque fancy might be allowed absolutely free scope. It must be pointed out, however, that in what is *the* Grail in Rabelais, that is the Bottle, the departure from the form or forms of the traditional vessel has nothing abrupt, or shocking, or unconvincing about it.

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are not disclosed. In the Grail cycle Joseph of Arimathea is the first guardian of the Grail. It is not made clear who his successor is after he has passed from the scene. Robert de Boron has Brons, his brother-in-law, succeed him; in *Le Grand Saint Graal* his successor is his son Josephe. In some of the romances the generations between Josephe and Perceval are bridged over by a single keeper, Brons, the grandfather of Perceval, who is to remain on earth until Perceval shall have come to the castle and achieved the Quest, when the Fisher King is to remit to him the Grail and the other hallows. In *Le Grand Saint Graal* the keepers dwell in Corbenic, and their succession is tolerably clear. Joshua, Alain's brother, married the daughter of Alphasem, and ten days after both Alain and Alphasem (the keepers) died. After Joshua the warders were his direct descendants in succession: Eminadap, his son; Katheloy, son of Eminadap; from him was born Manaal, from him Lambor. All were called *riche pescheours*. After Lambor, his son Pellehan reigned. Pellehan was succeeded by Pelles, the father of Helayne, the mother of Galahad, who achieved the adventures in which the others had failed. This is the version followed in the *Lancelot*. On the confusion of the two lines of keepers, see Bruce I, 392.

<sup>15</sup> Notes 6, 7, and 8 have made it amply clear that the authors of the old romances did not consider themselves obligated to follow Chrétien and Robert and adopt slavishly their conception of what the Grail was.

## III

## WHAT THE QUEST OF THE HOLY GRAIL IS

In the old romances, especially in *La Queste du Saint Graal* (the Galahad quest), the quest of the Grail is a quest after knightly, and, above all, after Christian perfection. The aim of the knight is to pattern his own life after the example of Christ. In the *Perlesvaus* the true ideal of chivalry is

...not the practice of courtly love, or the quest of mere adventure, but the service of Christianity. The knight that craves glory shall fight for his faith and convert the heathen. Thus the quest of the Grail will be the successful accomplishment of a war waged for the good of the church, and the holy vessel itself will stand for the spiritual goal which many will seek but only the perfect will attain.<sup>16</sup>

In its initiation, the quest was a quest militant whose chief aim was the subversion of paganism. In its development, however, the ideal became modified. The enemy no longer was the pagan invader, but the pagan within man's heart: his passions, his desires, his appetites. The successful quester was he who, in sackcloth—literally, as with Lancelot, or figuratively, as with Galahad—succeeded best in mortifying the flesh. Yet this was not the end of the quest—it was merely a necessary condition to success. The quest of the Holy Grail, in the end, became a quest after mystic communion with God,<sup>17</sup> attainable by the blameless knight alone. It was moved by counsels of perfection consisting of the three qualities: (a) voluntary poverty, (b) entire obedience, (c) perfect chastity.

<sup>16</sup> See Wm. A. Nitze, *Perlesvaus* (Johns Hopkins dissertation, 1902), p. 45. On the spirit of asceticism and idealism that moved the questers, see Bruce, I, 379, 420, 423, 424, and Hertz, p. 447.

<sup>17</sup> Paulin Paris, I, 142 (*Joseph d'Arimathie* or *Le Saint Graal*, the prose redaction): "Bientôt ceux qui étaient assis furent pénétrés, d'une douceur ineffable qui leur fit tout oublier."

No less than the romance quest, the quest in Rabelais is a quest after perfection. But the ideal of perfection has changed. In Rabelais it is not the glowing faith that uplifts man face to face with God; it is faith of another sort, faith in the beneficence of Knowledge, in the beauty of Wisdom, in the power and might of Truth. The quest of Pantagruel is a crusade against Error. "Si Pantagruel parcourt le monde c'est pour regarder face à face toutes les illusions, se mesurer avec les chimères dangereuses, affronter dans leurs repaires les sottises malfaisantes."<sup>18</sup>

This, then, is the meaning of the wine of the Bottle. This wine is a "divine liqueur . . . qui tient toute vérité en close" (v, 45). It is, accordingly, no ordinary wine, since filled with it the Bottle is filled with mysteries (v, 45); it is a wine which makes man divine, "pouvoir il a d'emplir l'ame de toute vérité tout savior et philosophie" (v, 46). In brief it is wine considered in its pagan mystical aspects, such as it was invested with in the worship of Dionysus among the Greeks.<sup>19</sup>

Just as in the romances there are necessary conditions of attainment to the Grail, so with Rabelais. Both the romance quest and Rabelais' exact sacrifices and impose self-abnegation. In the romances, in order to contemplate God, one's clarity of vision must not be troubled by the fleshly appetites, and the quester must give himself up wholesouledly to his quest. It is precisely the same in Rabelais. Knowledge, Wisdom, Truth are jealous mistresses; they likewise demand sincere service and a high intent. In consequence, wine in its purely material aspect, and with all its implications, must be foresworn by the questers, for "... tous personnages qui s'adonnent et dedient à contemplation des choses divines, doivent en tranquillité leurs esprits maintenir, hors toute perturbation des sens: laquelle plus est manifestée en yvrogerie qu'en autre passion, quelle qu'elle soit" (v, 34).

<sup>18</sup> Emile Gebhart, *Rabelais, la renaissance et la réforme* (1895), p. 66.

<sup>19</sup> See Walter Pater, *Greek Studies*, pp. 1 seq.

## IV

## THE GRAIL QUEST

In the old romances, the quest of the Holy Grail is a quest by land. But three times at least in his quest the hero ventured on the waters in far-off journeys which lasted many days. In the *Parzival* we learn of the hero

Nu tuot uns di aventiure bekant  
er habe erstrichen manec lant  
z'ors, unt in schiffen uf dem wac.

IX, 41-43.

In the *Perlesvaus* and in the *Lancelot du Lac* both Perceval and Lancelot sail the seas in their search for the Holy Vessel. These journeys are remarkable enough to require that their substance be given.

In the *Perlesvaus*,<sup>20</sup> as a result of the saintly works of Perceval, the land of Britain was becoming Christianized. A troop of pagans, who obstinately persisted in their denial of the New Law, determined to leave the land, and set out to sea in a ship. But Perceval overtook them on the shore and slew many of them; the rest jumped into the ship, where Perceval followed them and slaughtered them, save the pilot, who forthwith accepted the New Law. Meantime the ship, with sails set, was fast gaining the open sea. Soon it was out of sight of the land and continued to go swiftly, guided by God. It sailed by night and by day, until it reached an island in the sea on which stood a castle. Perceval landed and entered the castle and found it the fairest ever he had seen. He discovered that it was under the guardianship of two hermits who were men before the death of Christ, and had known Joseph of Arimathea before Christ was crucified. In the castle Perceval saw many wonders happen

<sup>20</sup> Potvin, *Perceval le Gallois*, I, 323, 327-338. *L'hystoire du Saint Graal* (1516), ff. 206-208, repeats this episode of the *Perlesvaus*.



before his eyes, but the hermits refused to give an explanation of them. They told him about two neighboring islands, one the Island of Plenty, the other the Island of Poverty. The kings of the Island of Plenty who did not by their works win divine approval were exiled to the Island of Poverty. The hermits informed Perceval that after his adventures should all be completed he would return to them and be crowned king of the Island of Plenty. They harbored him for the night, and next day he boarded his ship and set forth. Directed by God, the ship, after days and nights of sailing, reached an island whereon was an ancient castle which had known better days. Perceval learned from its mistress that she was the wife of one of his uncles, and that since his death the land had been ravaged by the pagan folk. She had two daughters who dwelt with her, and a son who now was a prisoner of the king of the Island of the Whale. Perceval promised to free them from their oppressor and to rescue his cousin. The next morning he set out to sea and speedily reached the Island of the Whale. After divers adventures he rescued his cousin, as well as a maiden who also was a captive on the island. After having restored his cousin to his mother, Perceval again took to the high sea. After a time he reached an island whereon he beheld a burning castle which was tenanted by a solitary hermit. Perceval learned from the hermit that this was the castle in which his cousin Joshua slew his own mother, that it had been burning ever since then and would continue to burn until the day when it should kindle the fire which was to destroy the world. Perceval did not tarry there, but hurried away in great haste. He passed three kingdoms and sailed many waters, skirting many deserts on one side and another of the sea, until one day he reached an island on which dwelt twelve hermits who were the caretakers of twelve tombs. In these lay buried Alain li gros, Perceval's father, and his eleven brothers. On the following day Perceval departed and after the ship had sailed swiftly and far, he reached the island of Great Britain, where he disembarked.

This adventure is not an episode in Perceval's quest after the Grail, as before entering upon it he had achieved the quest. It is, however, an episode in his quest after holiness and sanctity, of which the visible Grail is a symbol and prefiguration. The sea voyage on which Lancelot engaged<sup>21</sup>, on the other hand, is one of the adventures that befell him in the course of his search after the sacred vessel.

Lancelot, having undertaken the quest in atonement of his sins, found himself after a time alone and abandoned in a deserted region surrounded by forests and waters. He prayed to God to have pity on him, and in answer a voice bade him go to the sea, where he would find a ship which he should board. This was the Ship of Solomon, and on it Lancelot found the body of Perceval's sister. The ship began to move, and soon after arrived at a small rocky island, on which Lancelot found a hermit. After receiving encouragement from the holy man to persist in the path of holiness, Lancelot again boarded the ship, which bore him away. After sailing for a month, he arrived at a wooded shore. There a knight came to him and joined him. The knight was Galahad, and father and son were glad for each other's company. They remained together on the ship six months and more, and many times touched at strange islands peopled with beasts, and where marvelous adventures befell them. The story does not record them, as it would require too much time. One day the ship again arrived at a wooded shore, where there was a cross. A white knight leading a charger approached them, and greeting them addressed himself to Galahad: "God bids you leave this ship, mount this charger, and achieve the adventures of Logres." Lancelot remained on the ship, which continued its voyaging, until one night it stopped at the foot of a castle. A voice spoke to Lancelot, saying: "Go ashore and enter the castle; there you will see part of what you long to see." Lancelot obeyed. He approached the castle (it was Corbenic), which was guarded by two lions. They did not molest

<sup>21</sup> Sommer, VI, 177-182, *Lancelot* (1533), third part, ff. 110-113.

him. In the castle all were asleep, as it was after midnight. Lancelot wandered from room to room, hoping to find out in what part of the world he was. At last he came to a door which he could not open. He listened and heard a voice sweetly singing: "Glory, praise, and honor to the Father in Heaven." Lancelot kneeled and devoutly prayed to the Lord to allow him to behold the Holy Grail. His prayer was heard, the door opened, and a dazzling brightness emanated from the room. Joyfully Lancelot approached the door; a voice warned him not to enter. Through the open door Lancelot saw on a silver table the Holy Grail covered with red samite, and before it a priest celebrating mass. As the priest raised the host as though to show it to the people, it seemed to Lancelot that he was unable to bear its weight. Disregarding the warning, Lancelot rushed to the priest's aid, praying to Christ to forgive him his disobedience. As he entered the room he was struck by a fiery wind; he fell down as if dead; he felt hands seize him and remove him from the room. On the morrow the people of the castle found him sitting at the door, unable to speak or move. Fourteen days he remained in this condition—one day for each year he had dwelt in sin. On the fifteenth day he opened his eyes and spoke. He asked how he had come to the castle. After being fully informed by those about him he asked for the hair-cloth shirt he had worn on the quest, but he was told not to trouble about it, as his quest was ended.

It is at once obvious that in the two marvelous journeys by sea of Perceval and Lancelot we have before us an imitation of the *imrama*, or Celtic "oversea voyages," spoken of at the beginning of this chapter. It would require no great boldness to assert that the specific *imram* which served as their model was the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*. In the first place, we have no good reason to think that any of these peculiarly Irish stories were known on the continent at the time, besides the *Navigatio*; in the second, the details of Saint Brendan's voyage agree fairly well with the details of the voyages of the two Grail questers.

The ships of the questers sail about on the ocean directed only by the Lord's will and with no definite itinerary before them. So does Saint Brendan's. In their voyages, like Saint Brendan, they touch at many islands. In the case of Lancelot, these islands are tenanted by beasts only; the islands Perceval chanced upon in his journeyings are tenanted by people alone—usually hermits. In the *Navigatio*, on the other hand, we run across an Island of Birds, an Island of Sheep, and an Island of Sea Snails. On these, besides the animals which are their chief tenants, we find hermits as well. Perceval, we recall, chanced upon an Island of the Whale, which may be the Jasconius of the *Navigatio*, and he is told of an Island of Plenty, which may be the Earthly Paradise, in the quest of which Saint Brendan set out on his seven years' journey. It is a question, apparently, of what phase of the *Navigatio* the authors of the *Perlesvaus* and of the *Lancelot* stressed. In each case, finally, the hero experienced marvelous adventures and returned to his own land, marvelously guided.

Now it can admit of little doubt that Rabelais had read one of the Perceval romances, and certainly the *Lancelot*. There is clear evidence also that he was familiar with the legend of Saint Brendan.<sup>22</sup> It seems possible that having read the passages from the *Perceval* and the *Lancelot* he patterned his quest of the Bottle after the two episodes sketched above, and, using them as a nucleus, expanded them by intussusception—as he so well knew how to do—drawing from the following sources:

- (1) The Italian romances, chiefly Folengo's,
- (2) The popular romances,
- (3) Medieval literature:
  - (a) *Saint Brendan's Voyage*,
  - (b) The Arthurian Romances,
  - (c) Various medieval works,
- (4) Classical literature,
- (5) Contemporary literature and accounts of travelers,
- (6) His own imagination.

<sup>22</sup> See Tilley, *François Rabelais*, 252.

From Folengo he obtained the idea of the episode of the sheep (iv, 5-8), and probably of the storm (iv, 18-22), though storms are a commonplace in all the romances. He owes to the *Disciple de Pantagruel* the story of Bringuenarilles (iv, 17), possibly of Wild Island and its Chitterlings (iv, 35-42), and of the Island of Tools (v, 9). He is indebted to *Saint Brendan's Voyage* for the sea monster—the Physelere—which attacks the fleet (iv, 33-34), for the Ringing Island (v, 1-8), for v, 34, which, it seems probable, is copied after the Island of Raisins of the *Navigatio*, and for the Island of Macreons (iv, 26). The romances of the Round Table leave their traces chiefly in Rabelais' conception and treatment of the Grail, in the long consultation of Book III, undertaken to resolve Panurge's doubts, and in the Islands of the Chitterlings and of Lent, which very likely are amplified copies of the Islands of Plenty and of Poverty in the *Perceval*. The influence of other forms of medieval literature is too fugitive to deserve cataloguing here. ✓

From the classics he drew chiefly his idea of Lantern-land (v, 32-33), which obviously is suggested by a similar country in Lucian's *True History*, and tales such as that of the death of Pan (iv, 28). From contemporary literature he copied his apologue of Physie and Antiphysie (iv, 32), which he owes to Cilio Calcagnini; the fantastic story of the Frozen Words (iv, 50-51), which may be found in Castiglione; and the description of the temple of the Bottle, which is literally translated from Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. He made use of the accounts of travelers in various chapters, especially in the Country of Satin (v, 30-31). Finally, to his own invention are probably to be credited the satirical parts of the last two books, such as his travesty on justice and the law courts (v, 11-15), on Lent (iv, 29-32), on religious fanatics (iv, 45-54).<sup>23</sup> ✓

<sup>23</sup> This list does not purport to catalogue completely Rabelais' sources. It is designed merely to give a general idea of his mode of composition. For fairly complete catalogues of his sources, except the medieval, which have hitherto been slighted, see W. F. Smith, *Rabelais in his Writings*, Plattard, *L'Oeuvre de Rabelais*, Fleury, *Rabelais et ses oeuvres*.

In fine, the voyage of Books iv and v differs from those of Saint Brendan and Perceval and Lancelot in that it has a definite itinerary; it agrees with them in that Pantagruel and his company are launched on the bosom of the mysterious ocean,<sup>24</sup> in that they meet with and land at a great number of strange islands, where they, too, have marvelous adventures, and in that the end of all four of them is the same: to achieve a sovereign good.

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<sup>24</sup> Although the duration, route, stops, and the objective of his voyage are all carefully planned, yet Rabelais manages to envelop the travels of his company in an air of mystery. For instance, "Medamothi" is "no land," and to emphasize this he makes it an important mart for a non-existent Afro-Asiatic trade, and situates it at a distance of only two hours' pigeon flight from France. In the Island of Ennasin, which would be only four hours of pigeon flight—500 miles at the most—from France, already the land from which the questers hailed is called "l'aultre monde," showing that Rabelais' ocean is the mysterious, uncharted ocean of legend.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE MARVELOUS IN RABELAIS

No part of Rabelais' work is more characteristic of his peculiar genius than is his treatment of the marvelous. In it we find a capital illustration of the dissonant elements that have made of him from his day to ours a puzzle to the critic and interpreter. In his use of the marvelous he mingled ancient and medieval natural lore, which, however, he subjected to the modern scientific attitude of skepticism.<sup>1</sup>

Naturally, Rabelais' scientific 'facts' are those of his day. They are a legacy of antiquity still further distorted by their tradition to modern times through the Middle Ages with all their superstition, their credulity, their indisposition to observe and reason, and their inordinate respect for authority. In spite of his copious use of these 'facts,' however, Rabelais was not among the many eminent men of science of his time, and even after, who still remained unable to unshackle their spirit from the dead hand of the ancient past. Quite the contrary; with a species of ingratitude, so to say, he assails his sources on the score of credibility. Elianus he calls "tiercelet de menterie," and not even Pliny, from whom he borrowed so extensively, escaped the shafts of his satirical skepticism.

The function of the marvelous in the romances is to astound and enrapture the reader by transporting him from the world of harsh reality into a new world where the impossible is the rule, but an impossible made palatable by being transmuted and glorified through the fervent glow of the poetic imagination. The rôle the marvelous plays in the romances varies within the

<sup>1</sup> For his modern attitude toward the great questions he discusses, see Smith, *Rabelais in his Writings*, and A. F. Chappell, *The Enigma of Rabelais, an Essay in Interpretation* (1924). Chappell deals particularly with Rabelais' philosophical and religious views.

widest possible limits: in the *Lancelot du Lac*, for example, its part is a palmary one; whereas in *Méliadus de Leonnoys*, in *Gliglois*, and in *Durmart* it is altogether absent. Then in between these two extremes it frequently is found reduced to subordinate importance.

The Italians seized upon this particular feature of the romances, divorced it from the rest, and attached it to the heroes of the French epics, erecting it at the same time into a sacramental rule and giving it an extension only adumbrated in the Arthurian Romances. The peregrinations of the heroes become catalogues of stupendous adventures of all conceivable kinds, out of which invariably, either at the outset or eventually, they issue triumphant. Berni sums up, and not unfairly, in a four-line formula the substance and content of the Italian romances:

Di giardino in giardino di ponte in ponte,  
 Di lago in lago, e d'un in altro affano  
 Ora è condotto il Principe, ora il Conte  
 E come voi vedete allegri vanno.

—*Orlando innamorato*, XXXIV, 1.

With the later Italians, with Pulci, Bojardo, Berni, and Ariosto, this exaggeration of the marvelous, carried out into the grotesque, was very probably not without its satirical intention. With respect to Folengo there can be no difference of opinion; his burlesque *Macaronics* are very obviously a grotesque satire, of both the French romances and those of his Italian predecessors.

While, however, the influence of the Italians on Rabelais is very manifest, it is less obvious in his treatment of the marvelous, the most essential characteristic of the Italian romances. Nor can we assign to the French romances a greater degree of influence on him in this respect. Nowhere does Rabelais' special ability in recreating a situation, in expanding the slightest hint, in adapting a *procédé*, in combining different and distinct models into something novel and peculiarly his own, appear to



better advantage. Rabelais' marvelous has no indubitable prototype, it has no counterpart, and in our day of universal sophistication it can have no comparable imitation.

But before he evolved the process so well suited to his genius, and compatible with its limitations, his imagination, which never soars, oscillated more or less uncertainly between the marvelous of the Italian romances and the marvelous of the chap-books of the day, the latter exercising by far a preponderant influence. In his later books (Books III, IV, V), he absolutely emancipated himself from this uncongenial influence, and struck out in an entirely new direction. He turned his eyes from the *Morgante*, from the *Orlando innamorato*, from the *Orlando furioso*, from Folengo's Macaronic poems, and finally from the *Grandes Chroniques*, and directed them toward Elianus, toward Pliny, toward the *Novus Orbis*, and the many recitals of fabulous medieval journeys on the ocean, chief among them Saint Brendan's. These sea journeys constitute the frame on which he wove his curious lore of fishes, birds, beasts, and plants. At this juncture the words of Lazare Sainéan may aptly be quoted:

Là où les commentateurs n'ont vu jusqu'ici [V, 30-31] qu'une nomenclature chaotique, il s'agit d'un excellent résumé des connaissances de l'époque, d'un document scientifique de premier ordre. En ce qui touche l'histoire naturelle son oeuvre nous présente un tableau à peu près complet. Aucun fait saillant, d'ordre historique ou social, ne semble avoir échappé à son intelligence ouverte, à sa curiosité insatiable. Grâce aux nombreux éléments épars dans son livre, nous avons été à même de reconstituer les principaux aspects de l'histoire naturelle depuis l'antiquité, en traversant le moyen âge et la Renaissance, jusqu'au milieu du seizième siècle.<sup>2</sup>

From the preceding paragraphs the reader may conclude that while the marvelous runs through all of Rabelais' five books, it does not show unity of conception and of execution as in the romances before him, nor does it circumscribe itself within the bounds of the grotesque and the impossible. On the contrary it is eclectic, its sources are many and not one, it is inspired by the French and to a slight extent by the Italian romances, by the popular romances, by the pseudo-science of

<sup>2</sup> *R. S. S.*, VI, 84.

antiquity and the Middle Ages, and by classical and medieval literature. For convenience of treatment it may be classified as:

- (a) The grotesque-marvelous,
- (b) The magical-marvelous,
- (c) The biological-marvelous,
- (d) The literary-marvelous,
- (e) And finally the marvelous of Rabelais' own invention.

As previously remarked, the grotesque element in Rabelais' marvelous has two sources: the Italian romances and the popular romances. It is not always possible to assign to each its proportionate share, as to a considerable extent they overlap. Consequently a differentiation of sources as between these two would add nothing to our understanding and appreciation of this aspect of the question.

In choosing giants for personages in his books, Rabelais had ample precedent. Giants, it is true, play an extremely restricted part in the Arthurian Romances, though they are not complete strangers to the French epic in rôles of more than minor importance. The giants of epic and romance, however, were far from having attained the prodigious stature they were made to assume later. We must come to Pulci and the *Grandes Chroniques* before encountering for the first time the proximate prototypes of Rabelais' giants. Pulci says Morgante is "like a mountain," although he soon after finds no difficulty in walking through the doors of a monastery. With a pine tree as a spit, he roasts an elephant and devours it at one sitting; afterwards using the spit for a toothpick. With his bell-clapper he lays out about him five thousand Saracens. But multiplication of these details would be wearisome, since it is rather to the *Grandes Chroniques* that we must look for Rabelais' model. In them, when Merlin leaves Grandgousier and Galamelle, they shed enough tears to run two mills. The boy Gargantua throws stones at birds, each of which is as large as a millstone. The switch with which he urges his mare in his journey from the East to Arthur's court is as large as the mast of a ship. At Paris he sits on one of

the towers of Notre Dame and his feet dip in the Seine. In combat against five hundred knights of the king of Ireland he catches them up and puts them away in various parts of his clothing; in a later fight he picks up a giant eighteen cubits high and tucks him away in his pouch. Rabelais' Gargantua, too, sits on the selfsame tower, and likewise Pantagrueu sheds tears as large as ostrich eggs. In his expedition against the Dipsodes he walks with his head above the clouds, while he shelters his army against a sudden shower by covering it with his tongue. Maître Alcofribas spends six months exploring Pantagrueu's interior, in which he finds many thriving cities and states.

Quite in keeping with the physical dimensions of Rabelais' giants are their years and intellectual proportions. Gargantua, for example, has attained the age of "four hundred fourscore forty and four years" when Pantagrueu is born. At the age of fifty-eight he begins his education in earnest with Ponocrates. Under this accomplished preceptor he does not leave unexplored or untried a single field of knowledge, or a single one of the manly exercises and games. His workday begins at four in the morning and continues far into the night. In these hours he executes a prodigious program, covering languages, literature, sacred and profane, arts and sciences, chivalric exercises, hunting, swimming, and playing.

Illustrations of the same tenor might be indefinitely multiplied, but would add little to the reader's understanding of this phase of the marvelous in Rabelais.<sup>3</sup>

Side by side with the grotesque-marvelous, Rabelais employs the magical-marvelous, though in a greatly attenuated form. This species of the marvelous demands a poetic feeling and imagination to which Rabelais was very largely a stranger. Accordingly, illustrations of the magical are not numerous in his books, and, with a sole exception, are distinctly trivial.

<sup>3</sup> In this connection the reader is referred to Pierre Villey's *Marot et Rabelais* (1923), 170-174, where Rabelais' use of a very frequent *procédé* is pointed out: that the incredible is made to assume the appearance of the credible by the copious use of precise details. In addition, the more romantic an author's material is the more concrete his vocabulary may need to be.

Frère Jean's exploits in chasing Picrochole's men from the vineyards of Seuillé earn for him an invitation to Grandgousier's castle, where Gargantua has just arrived from Paris. After an evening of wining, Gargantua and his companions, among them Frère Jean, set out at midnight on a reconnoissance. Very shortly after they chance upon a similar party from Picrochole's camp, under the command of Captain Tiravant. On discovering them, the doughty Frère Jean shouts: "Charge, devils, charge!" The enemy, on hearing this battle cry, verily thinking they have to do with devils, take to flight, with the exception of Captain Tiravant, who, "settling his lance in rest, hit the monk with all his might on the very middle of his breast, but coming against his horrific frock, the point of the iron flattened, as a wax candle would if struck against an anvil."

Weapons or armor possessing magical qualities rendering the wearer irresistible and invulnerable, while they are found in all primitive literature, reach their highest development in the Italian romances. It is true now and then they may be found in the French romances, for example the three shields the Lady of the Lake sends to Lancelot at the outset of his chivalric career, or Guenevere's shield, which possesses curative qualities.<sup>4</sup> But in general they play a minor rôle in Arthurian Romance, as the heroes of Arthur's court considered it a disgrace to possess an unfair advantage over an adversary. So we find Lancelot almost immediately discarding his shields. The Italians felt no such scruples, however, and in consequence, their heroes are often the possessors of enchanted swords, shields, lances, helmets, which are a source of envy and discord, and occasion extensive travels on the part of Saracen princes, who leave their seats in Asia and journey to Charlemagne's court to win them from their owners.

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<sup>4</sup> On the magical elements in the Old French romances, see Benjamin de la Waar Easter, *A Study of the Magic Elements in the Romans d'Aventure and the Romans Bretons* (Johns Hopkins dissertation, 1906). The first half only of this dissertation has been published.

In the single combat between Loupgarou and Pantagruel, the latter almost comes to grief through Loupgarou's mace of steel. It would seem that this tremendous weapon, weighing "nine thousand seven hundred quintals and two quarterons," was formidable enough without being made more so by the tricks of magic. But, in fact, "it was enchanted in such sort that it could never break, but contrarily all that it did touch, did break immediately." Knowing this, Pantagruel begins the combat with a prayer to God and a vow to have his gospel preached in Utopia and elsewhere if he proved successful. The vow was no sooner made than there was heard a voice from heaven saying: *Hoc fac et vinces*. In the course of the combat, Pantagruel's weapon, a huge mast weighted with salt and wine, comes slightly in contact with the stock of Loupgarou's mace, and breaks into pieces. Great then is the distress of the good Pantagruel. "Panurge, where art thou?" he shouts, and the faithful Panurge would gladly have run to his master's aid had not Loupgarou's giant escort hindered him. Pantagruel, however, gives Loupgarou a kick in the belly which sends him heels over head on the ground. The other giants run to Loupgarou's assistance, whereupon Pantagruel seizes his prostrate adversary by the feet and so belabors the rescuers that they are laid out on the ground, where Panurge, Carpalim, and Eusthenes dispatch them by cutting their throats. Unfortunately, in the fracas Epistemon is beheaded by a flying freestone forming part of Loupgarou's armor. But Panurge's skill and cunning are equal to the occasion. He carefully washes Epistemon's truncated head in white wine, powders it, and joins it to the body, adjusting carefully vein to vein, nerve to nerve. Next he anoints the wound with a magical ointment, and fastens the two parts of the body together with fifteen or sixteen stitches. Epistemon soon comes back to life and gives an extraordinary relation of what he has seen in the brief minutes spent in the lower regions. There everything is topsy turvy, and the estate and condition of the tenants is changed after a very strange

manner. The mighty are humbled: Xerxes is a huckster of mustard; Cyrus, a cowherd; Aeneas, a cabinetmaker. The humble are exalted: Diogenes struts about in a purple robe, with a scepter in his right hand; Jean le Maire counterfeits the pope, and kings and princes kiss his foot.

This episode of a lopped-off head being rejoined to its body is extremely common in medieval literature; it has its source in folklore.<sup>5</sup> It is found in the Irish sagas, in more than one Middle English poem, and in several Old French romances. The *Orlando innamorato* (Berni, LXII, 61) and the *Orlando furioso* (XV, 65 seq.) make use of it in a modified form. But in none of these must we look for Rabelais' prototype. It is probably to be found in a story, now lost, but also retold in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* (vii, 22), in combination with a descent to Hell occurring in a dialogue of Lucian, the *Necyomantia*. In Malory, Gareth has a midnight appointment in Sir Gringamor's castle with Dame Lyones. Lynette, Lyones' sister, wishing to hinder the accomplishment of the lovers' desires, sends a knight, who attacks and wounds Gareth but in turn has his head stricken off. Lynette anoints the wound, and joins the head to the body, to which it sticks as fast as ever.<sup>6</sup> The stitches in the version of the *Pantagruel* are just such a surgical turn as we might expect from realistic Doctor Rabelais. In the *Necyomantia*, Mennipus relates to Philonides his visit to Hell, where, precisely as in Rabelais, the condition of the mighty of earth is lowly. Kings and satraps are humbled. He sees Philip of Macedon in a corner mending old slippers; and Xerxes and Darius begging alms at crossroads. Diogenes, on the other hand, is happy, and greets the laments of his neighbors and companions, over their low estate, with bursts of laughter.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For a study of the "Beheading motif" in medieval romance, see George L. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1916).

<sup>6</sup> Kittredge observes, p. 266, that this episode is not a version of the Beheading Game.

<sup>7</sup> For a review of the various descents to Hell, see Fleury, *Rabelais et ses oeuvres*, I, 398-411; and Edgar Blochet, *Sources orientales de la Divine Comédie* (Paris, 1901).

Plattard has observed, and perhaps justly, that Rabelais felt that the naïve efforts of the popular romances to awaken the wonder of the reader soon become monotonous, and defeat their very end. Whether that be the cause, or the lapse of eleven years between the first part of Rabelais' work (Books I, II) and its last part (Books III, IV, V) had brought to maturity his fundamental qualities—his predilection for science, his realism, his skepticism—we have to record a complete change in his last three books in his treatment of the marvelous. Magic is absolutely pretermitted in them, and even the physical proportions of his hero, though they are briefly indicated directly or indirectly four times, are without influence on the action. From now on Rabelais will draw from his wide scientific reading and immense erudition the material for his marvelous. He will lay under contribution botany, and especially zoology, for the recondite lore by means of which he will make the reader marvel. It is true the grotesque appears now and then in the later books, as in the stories of Bringuenarilles and Quaresmeprenant, but in these cases it is kept far in the background, since Rabelais does not directly introduce these worthies into his narrative. It does get into the main current of the action in the episode of the Chitterlings, and with the Island of Ruach; but with the Chitterlings—and this is true also of Quaresmeprenant—the intention is so obviously allegorical that an attempt at classification must not be too rigidly pressed.

Pantagruel, with his company, sets out of the harbor of Thalasse in twelve ships on a Saint Brendan's journey to Utopia in quest of the Divine Bottle. He has the precaution to load his fleet with large quantities of *Pantagruelion*. Rabelais is at great pains to give a minute description of this herb, which Pantagruel discovered and of which he has taught mankind the uses. The reader, unless a skilled botanist, would never recognize the herb *Pantagruelion* as flax. Nowhere does Rabelais call it that; on the contrary, he stresses the fire-resisting qualities of one of its species, and calls it variously *Asbeston*, *Pantagruelion Carpasien Asbestin*, and *Pantagruelion Asbeste*. The

purpose of his long and detailed description is perfectly obvious. Equally so is the phrase "as divine as it is mysterious," which he applies to its uneven phyllotaxy, represented by him by the odd numbers 5 and 7. As a last fanciful touch he adds: "On sème cestuy Pantagruelion à la nouvelle venue des hirondelles, on le tire de terre lorsque les cigalles commencent à s'enrouer,"—a fanciful way of saying it is sowed in the early spring and gathered in the early fall.<sup>8</sup>

This *procédé* of mock concealment of the identity of a common and homely animal or plant under long descriptions of its appearance, its qualities, and its uses, to deceive the science of the reader and to awaken his interest and wonder, is not novel nor singular, and skilfully done as it is by Rabelais, it may be very effective. Rabelais employs it but once, as the other plants he introduces to us are sufficiently marvelous in themselves not to need the rhetorical tricks of the writer. Such is the herb Gaster shows Pantagruel whereby he conjures rain from the skies, merely by cutting it in the meadows where it grows; or the herb *Erigeron*, which, put in the mouth of the hindmost of a flock of fleeing sheep, will quickly bring all of them to a stop; or the herb *Ethiopsis*, which will open any lock near which it is placed; or the herb which will draw an ax out of a tree, howsoever deep it may be struck into it—woodpeckers use it to open their holes in tree trunks after they have been closed by an iron wedge. No less magical are the properties of the *Dittany*, by eating which bucks eject from their bodies the arrows with which they have been pierced; or of the laurel and the fig tree, whose odors have the power to turn aside the thunderbolt.

On the fourth day after setting out from Thalasse the company reach the beautiful Island of Medamothi. It is a great mart for the Afro-Asiatic trade. There Pantagruel and his companions purchase many curiosities, chief among them

<sup>8</sup> See Méon, *Roman du Renart (Renart le Nouvel)* IV, 276: "Ces lettres furent kierkies l'an ke li moussons se combatirent as mouskerons, sietante et set el mois que li pouchin devient poulet." Also IV, 306: "Ces lettres furent faites et kierkies l'an que wesples et li tahn se combatirent sour le Mont de Liban, nonante et un, el mois que les ruines foursent."



an animal called the "Tarand." Rabelais' description of this animal, which has been identified with the reindeer, is taken mainly from Pliny, but to Pliny he has added many fanciful details of his own. The reputed cameleon qualities of the "Tarand" are explained by the fact that it shows variations in color, many becoming white in winter. The reindeer was practically unknown in France in the sixteenth century, and consequently Rabelais could safely expand Pliny's already bizarre description without shocking the common credulity.

Several days after leaving Medamothi the fleet anchors at the "Isle Ennasin." Here we are consciously introduced by Rabelais into a new world, and never after does he allow us to forget this. The Ennasins address the company as "vous aultres gens de l'autre monde," and in the following chapters to the end of Book v variations of this phrase are continually before our eyes: "vous aultres gens transpontins" (iv, 49), "les universités de vostre monde" (iv, 53), "en vostre monde" (v, 5), "vous aultres de l'autre monde" (v, 7), etc. We are now well on the broad and open bosom of the medieval ocean, where strange peoples and strange sights await us in each chapter. For our purpose we need land with Pantagruel and his company only on the Island of Ruach, and afterwards not until we reach the Country of Satin (v, 30-31).

After their departure from the Isle of the Ennasins the company experience several adventures, noteworthy among them the episode between Panurge and Dindenault and his sheep, and the great storm that would have irretrievably wrecked the expedition but for Pantagruel's and Frère Jean's courage and stoutness. Soon after they reach the Isle of Ruach. They discover the inhabitants to be a queer sort: they drink nothing, they eat nothing save wind. With them windmills are at a premium and the wealthy are wont to banquet around tables spread under one or two of them. At such times they eulogize the sirocco, the zephyr, the sou'wester, the norther, for their excellence, salubrity, and rarity, each as his own taste in winds prompts him. Unfortunately, Bringuenarilles, a near

neighbor, frequently resorts to their island for his health, on which occasions he devours innumerable mills. Pantagrue is happy to be able to tell them Bringuenarilles has just died from swallowing a spat of butter before a warm oven on the advice of his physician.<sup>9</sup>

Several days after leaving Ruach, while the questers were feasting and at the same time learnedly discoursing, Pantagrue jumped to his feet and assumed a listening attitude. Soon the others of the company began distinguishing the noises and sounds that had first attracted their leader's attention; no one was in sight, but gradually the air became filled with the shouts of men, with the wails of women and children, with the neighing of horses, and finally with all the multitudinous sounds of a battle. The pilot explained that they were now on the confines of the Glacial Sea, where the winter before a great battle had occurred between the Arimaspiens and the Nephelibates. These outcries, and lamentations, and the tumult of battle were frozen then, and now were melting under the summer sun and becoming once more audible. Pantagrue scooped up with his hands sounds of various sorts, threw them on the deck. In appearance they were like sugar plums and various in color; on melting they liberated words in a barbaric tongue.

After weeks of traveling, in which Pantagrue's prognostication that "no melancholy would be encountered on the way" (III, 47) is fully borne out, the company at last arrive in the Country of Satin.

This land, appropriately enough, is placed at the other end of the world, and thus may quite suitably be selected as the home of the exotic and the unreal. With Rabelais the phrase Country of Satin—possibly from the figuration on tapestries of mythological subjects—seems to have denoted a non-existent country. In IV, 7, Panurge, while pushing Dindenault's servants back into the sea in which they found themselves through

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the burlesque deaths of other giants: Margutte dies of bursting from laughter, Morgante from the bite of a small crab, *Morgante maggiore*, XIX, 149; XX, 51-52.

his cunning, mockingly wished them that they might, like Jonah, be swallowed by a whale and on the third day disgorged safe and sound in some country of satin. In this imaginary land by far the greatest number of Rabelais' animals, birds, fishes, and reptiles find a home. They are represented in order on tapestries of velvet and damask. They fall into two classes:

(a) Real animals, birds, and reptiles, among them the elephant and the rhinoceros, exotics in France at the time, and known only to a few travelers;

(b) Imaginary animals, birds, and reptiles, such as the unicorn, the phoenix and many others.

Animals so well known as the elephant is today could in 1550 quite suitably be relegated to a country of satin, for at that time the elephant had, so far as is known, never been seen in France by a Frenchman. Its first description *d'après nature* by a Frenchman was that of Pierre Gilles<sup>10</sup> toward the middle of the sixteenth century, who had seen it in Constantinople. Of course, the elephant was known by hearsay in France long before then, and as a matter of fact under the various names 'elefant,' 'oliphant' and 'oriflant' is found embalmed in many an Old French poem side by side with other unknown but real animals.

Naturally this universal ignorance in Europe of exotic animals afforded writers plenty of elbow room for the exercise of their imagination. Here is the fantastic description of the elephant Philippe de Thaün gives us in his *Bestiary* (1541-1550):

Es jambes par nature  
 N'en a qu'une jointure,  
 Il ne pot pas gesir  
 Quand il se volt dormir;  
 Kar se culchiez esteit  
 Par sei ne levereit,  
 E en liu de culchier  
 Li estot apuier  
 U a arbre u a mur  
 Idonc dort a seur.

<sup>10</sup> Celebrated physician and naturalist, and a contemporary of Rabelais.

Many writers, among them Pliny, showed much the same credulity as to the appearance and habits of the elephant, and of them Rabelais scornfully remarks that they had never seen it except in painting.<sup>11</sup>

Four centuries after Philippe, these animals could still be described quite imaginatively. Berni, among others, endows exotics with huge dimensions and extraordinary attributes; as, for instance, the giraffe:

Una giraffa . . . .  
 Scrivel Turpino, e poca gente il crede,  
 Ch'undici braecia era del muso al piede.

—*Orl. inn.*, LVII, 38.

His elephant is of no more modest proportions:

Uscito fuora un re de gli elefanti  
 L'autor lo dice, ed io creder nol posso,  
 Che trenta palmi er alto e venti grosso.

—*Ibid.*, LVII, 41.

Almost a hundred years later, Montaigne could express astonishment at the sight of a tiger which he saw in Florence, although as early as 1534 several of them had been presented to Francis I by the Turkish Emir Khair Eddin, then on an embassy at his court: "Nous vismes là," he writes, "... un animal de la grandeur d'un fort grand mastin, de la forme d'un chat, tout martelé de blanc et de noir, qu'ils nomment tigre." Apparently, in Rabelais' opinion, the elephant in its actuality was a marvelous enough animal not to need to be magnified by the imagination. At all events, he gives of it an accurate description.

To the Country of Satin Rabelais relegates, among others, the cameleon, the pelican, the panther, the reindeer, the aurochs, the hyena, the giraffe, the gazelle, and the tiger, all of them virtually unknown in France in his day.

<sup>11</sup> Curiously enough, the entire passage from Philippe seems to be a literal translation of Caesar's description of the marvelous elk that inhabited, it was popularly believed, the Hercynian forest (*De Bello Gallico*, VI, 27).

Nor does he fail to avail himself of occult and supernatural powers attributed to real animals in his time and long after. Owing to the superstition with which they were regarded, he fittingly places in the Country of Satin the remora, which was credited with the ability to stop a ship in its course and to draw up gold fallen into wells; the halcyon, which even Montaigne believed had the power to still the sea; the seal,<sup>12</sup> which was thought to be able to turn aside the thunderbolt, and whose skin, it was believed in the Middle Ages, rendered the wearer invulnerable; the gnu, with the venomous eyes that could kill.

Tilley points out<sup>13</sup> that Rabelais drew from the *Novus Orbis* his description of the elephant, and assigns the same source for his description of the unicorn. In this fabulous animal, which with the rhinoceros and the hippopotamus he had already placed in the Abbey of Thélème "en peinture," Tilley sees a fusion on Rabelais' part of two animals described in the *Novus Orbis*, the first the rhinoceros, described evidently from personal observation by Marco Polo; the second, a mysterious one-horned animal which Varthema saw in the Temple of Mecca. A comparison of Rabelais' description with the passages from the *Novus Orbis* shows conclusive concordances. Tilley's remarks may be supplemented, however, with a text from *Renart le Novel*,<sup>14</sup> showing that these two animals long before had become confused in the popular mind, owing, doubtless, to their possessing each a single horn in the middle of the forehead.

Other imaginary animals placed in the Country of Satin are the wer-wolf; the centaur; the manticorne, found in the Bestiaries; the eucrocutes, also called leucrocutes, a cross between the hyena and the lioness; neades, at the sound of whose voice the earth opens into chasms; the basilisk, whose eye deals death;

<sup>12</sup> Gargantua's gloves are of sealskin, likewise the defensive armor of King Anarch's foot soldiers.

<sup>13</sup> *Mod. Lang. Rev.* (1906-1907), part ii, pp. 316-326.

<sup>14</sup> ll. 2110-2113: Sire, pierdu aves Tibiert  
Et ses deus fius, Rinoceron  
L'Unicorne par Sant Symon,  
Le singe Cointeriel ausi.

the hydra; the griffon; and the phoenix, belief in whose resuscitation from its own ashes persisted till the end of the sixteenth century.

At times Rabelais amuses himself by adding to the marvelous attributes of his animals and plants. In the case of the "Tarand," for instance, with respect to its ability to change color, with which it was generally credited, Rabelais adds these details:

.... Je l'ay vu couleur changer, non à l'approche seulement des choses colorées, mais de soy-mesmes, selon la peur ou affection qu'il avait. Comme sus un tapis vert je l'ay vu certainement verdoyer, mais y restant quelque espace de temps devenir jaune, bleu, tanne, violet par succès; en la facon que voyez la creste des coqs d'Inde couleur selon leurs passions changer (iv, 2).

Again he frequently expresses skepticism. "J'y vis un cameleon," he says, "tel que le descrit Aristoteles . . . et ne vivait que d'air non plus que l'autre" (v, 30); and concerning the aphrodisiac qualities of the herb called *Targon*: "Ne m'allegues point l'Indian tant celebré par Theophraste, Pline et Atheneus, lequel avec l'aide de certaine herbe le faisait en un jour soixante et dix fois, et plus. Je n'en crois rien" (iii, 27).

Several animals placed in the Country of Satin are apparently of Rabelais' own fabrication, such as La My-quaresmes, la My-aout, la My-mars, the "poissons d'avril," the "hallebardes gauchères," and "la beste à deux dos," which Shakespeare remembers in *Othello* (I, i). Finally the Country of Satin is made the sanctuary of two marvels of antiquity, the Golden Fleece and the hide of Apuleius' Golden Ass.

While not strictly pertinent, it may be asked what suggested to Rabelais the idea of the Country of Satin. Scarcely the Bestiaries, as the only analogy between them and Rabelais is that both deal with animals real and imaginary, but in an altogether different manner and spirit.<sup>15</sup> If Rabelais was directly

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Couronnement Renart*, III, 1708-1825, for a remarkable list of four-footed animals, real and imaginary, arranged alphabetically from a to z.

inspired, it probably was by Pulci. In the pavilion of gold and silk presented to Rinaldo by Luciana, Marsilio's daughter (*M.M.*, XIV, 42-86), on each of the four parts into which it is divided, a different aspect of natural history is represented:<sup>16</sup> on the first part, gems embroidered around seraphs, and cherubs; on the second part, fishes are represented in the sea, swimming about Neptune, Thetis, and Ulysses; and Triton too is there appeasing the tempest, and Glaucus, and Galatea, and the Trojan ships metamorphosed into nymphs; the fourth part represents the land with its great cities, its animals, and plants, and serpents. By far the greater part of animate creation figured on this tapestry is real. Throughout the forty-four stanzas very few forms of imaginary life appear, and even most of these were believed in at the time Pulci wrote, as, for instance, the phoenix. Now, if we turn to canto XXV, 311-332, of the same poem, we find another list of animals and reptiles enumerated by the demon Astaroth to Rinaldo and Ricciardetto on their journey through the air. This second list is made up, chiefly, of legendary animals and reptiles, along with several real animals not known at the time in Western Europe, such as the crocodile and the rhinoceros.

Comparing these two lists with Rabelais' Country of Satin, we will be struck with the following similarities:

(1) In the first list, Pulci represents his animals, reptiles, birds and fishes on tapestry, as does Rabelais.

(2) Pulci's two lists together enumerate practically all the animals, reptiles, etc., that we find in Rabelais, and many others besides.

(3) In both authors the various orders of the animal kingdom are segregated.

(4) The use of mythological personages in both Rabelais and Pulci.

<sup>16</sup> For a description of tents figuring the natural kingdoms in embroidery, see *Roman de Thèbes*, 2925-2962; 3979-4068. Kings' pavilions were a favorite subject for rhetoric in the romances, so much so that the poet of *Ider* is moved to protest against this pedantic fashion (see G. Paris, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXX, 210).

(5) In at least two cases Rabelais translates almost word for word Pulci's description of imaginary animals: the animal he calls "cucrocute" he takes from Pulci, XXV, 313, where it is called "leucrocuta," and the serpent he calls "catoblepe" Rabelais takes from XXV, 314, where it is called by the same name. Other similarities that could be noted may be accidental.

(6) Both Rabelais and Pulci dismiss the fishes summarily.

Undoubtedly Pulci, in constituting his lists, drew extensively on the Bestiaries, as is evident from qualities he attributes to the phoenix, the pelican, the beaver, and the unicorn. Rabelais, in re-working Pulci's enumerations, brought to the task a much more extensive fund of general and specific knowledge gathered from Pliny and Aristotle among the ancients; from Avicenna and Albertus Magnus among the writers of the Middle Ages; and from various sources of his own time, several of whom he mentions in his *Country of Satin* in the following terms:

En un coing là près vismes Aristoteles tenant une lanterne . . . Derrière lui estoient comme records de sergents plusieurs autres philosophes . . . Entre iceux j'y advisay Pierre Gilles, lequel tenait un urinal en main considérant en profonde contemplation l'urine de ces beaux poissons (v, 31).

In the preceding chapter he says:

J'y vis un caméléon, tel que le décrit Aristoteles, et tel que me l'avoit quelquefois monstré Charles Marais, medecin insigne en la noble cité de Lyon. . . .;

and of the rhinoceros:

J'y vis un rhinoceros du tout semblable à celui que Henry Clerberg<sup>17</sup> m'avait autrefois monstré . . .

From the last two quotations we may fairly assume, predisposed thereto as we are by what otherwise we know of Rabelais' universal scholarship, insatiable curiosity, and extensive information in unusual and recondite fields, that he lost no opportunity to supplement and control his bookish knowledge of natural history by personal observation. Such opportunities did not fail to present themselves during his many voyages to Italy. In

<sup>17</sup> A German settled in Lyons, and one of its most famous merchants. Knighted by Francis I.



one passage at least (iv, 11), he broadly hints at a visit paid the celebrated zoological gardens of the Strozzi in Florence, where many animals, exotics then in France, could be seen. Charles VIII, too, in 1494, visited the famous menagerie, and was struck by nothing in that city so much as by the lions he saw there.

The writers of the Italian comic romances, owing to the fact that their fictions are exaggerated beyond all precedent, and that they address themselves to audiences that have not remained entirely unsophisticated with the lapse of time, frequently interrupt themselves in the midst of the narration of their marvelous adventures long enough to invoke the final authority of Turpin. Again and again occur the formulae "scrivel Turpin," "Turpin lo dice," "l'author lo dice," until themselves they become infected with the burlesque spirit. Such formulae, of course, were universally used in the Middle Ages, but without burlesque content, and purely as a literary convention, except perhaps in the very earliest times. Rabelais too feels the need of some sanction for his marvelous, and he makes more than once an effort to present it. If he tells us the infant Pantagruel had a cow for a wet nurse it is because, so he says, he finds this statement in the 'history' he used as a source (ii, 4); if Gargantua's mare is as large as "six oriflans" and has cloven hoofs, it is because she is a product of Africa, "and Africa, as every one knows, is always productive of some new wonder" (i, 16; v, 3); his giants find their sanction in literary usage and popular belief. So also with the Country of Satin. His authority for such a land, peopled with the curiosities with which he fills it, is the hunchbacked, misshapen, and monstrous old man Hearsay, whose mouth is split back to his ears, who has seven tongues and each cleft into seven parts. About his head, and on various other parts of his body, he has as many ears distributed as Argus had eyes; as for the rest, he is blind and paralyzed in his limbs. Hearsay is the presiding divinity of

this strange land, and around him Maître Alcofribas saw men and women in multitudes, all of them listening reverently to the babel issuing from his forty-nine tongues in divers languages. Among them he recognized Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Jacques Cartier, Marco Polo, Pietro Alvarez, to mention only a few. The allegory is obvious; and equally so is Rabelais' satirical intent. The Country of Satin is a satire on travelers' tales;<sup>18</sup> on those who write incredible relations on hearsay. In fine, the Country of Satin constitutes a most striking illustration of Rabelais' universal skepticism.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> J. C. Dunlop, *History of Fiction* (ed. 2, Edinburgh, 1816), III, 74, assigns as one of the "four things Rabelais principally seems to have proposed to ridicule . . . the lying and extravagant tales then in vogue."

<sup>19</sup> Lazare Sainéan's articles on natural history in Rabelais, appearing in the *R. S. S.*, have been extensively drawn upon in the preparation of this chapter.

## CHAPTER VII

## CONCLUSIONS

The obvious difference in manner and style between the two parts of Rabelais' work is, it is now clear, a natural consequence of their method of composition, which was, so far as concerns the first two books, entirely casual. In the *Gargantua* and the *Pantagruel* we find a repetition of manner, and, in a large measure, a repetition of content: both show the same characteristics of form, in both the history of the heroes is developed within the framework of the Arthurian Romance; again, the subject matter of the one to a considerable extent overlaps that of the other. With this repetition, naturally enough, is found, besides increased mastery of technique, a great advance in the clarity and precision of Rabelais' ideas. This is true particularly of the parts of the two books which ventilate his views on education, war, and monkery. In the *Pantagruel* his ideas on these important questions are not yet sharply defined: he felt, accordingly, the necessity of restating them in the *Gargantua*. The new scheme of education, for example, only adumbrated in the *Pantagruel*, is set forth at length in the first book and in much sharper contrast with the old education which the Sorbonne championed. In the second place, Rabelais offers in Thélème an ideal substitute for the narrow discipline, intellectual as well as physical, of the monasteries in which the old ideal was entrenched. What has just been said of education and monachism is equally true of war, three questions which constitute almost the entire matter of the first two books.

When once more, a decade later, Rabelais felt the urge to give currency to a new and more varied set of ideas, he recognized that the form which he had already twice used had grown inadequate, and he found himself under the necessity of selecting a new vehicle for their expression. He found it ready at

hand in the form of such Grail romances as *L'hystoire* and the two *Questes*, a form which with simplicity united great flexibility. It is indeed well suited to present a succession of tableaux with no logical connection between them, which can be multiplied and expanded at will. At the same time, the Grail itself, symbolical of spiritual perfection in the romances, could readily be made the symbol of the thirst for universal knowledge and for truth that characterized so many humanists of the Renaissance, and especially Rabelais himself.

Rabelais solved, as happily as possible under the circumstances, the problem of articulating the first part of his work with the second by the expedient of using and, after his usual manner, expanding one of the commonest incidents found in the Arthurian Romances of the biographical type as well as of the Grail-quest type. The dream of Panurge and the consultation held to explain it link up fairly well with Book II through one of the incidents that Rabelais had promised to treat in his "continuation," the marriage of Panurge and his cuckolding, and on the other with the quest of the oracle and the Holy Bottle, which the third book inaugurates. He found, besides, minor means of cementing the first and the second parts together, such as, for instance, using the same personages throughout his work.

The critics who have seen in Rabelais' work mainly an imitation of the Gest Romances were probably misled by two facts: (a) he makes a greater parade of this type of romance in the first two books than of the Arthurian Romances, and (b) war apparently plays a primary rôle in the *Gargantua* and the *Pan-tagruel*. If we turn to the second chapter, it will be seen that as against three Arthurian Romances that Rabelais seems without doubt to have known at first hand, he gives positive indications of having read as many as eight Gest Romances. Furthermore, the number and the definiteness of the allusions that he makes to the Gest Romances quite obscure his references to the Arthurian Romances, which seldom are specific or arresting. As for the two wars in Rabelais, their importance, it has been pointed out, may easily be exaggerated. Considered from their proper angle—

from the angle of their literary function—they immediately assume their true value and perspective: they appear as one of the many and various phases of the exploits of the hero, a phase which is a frequent, or even usual, but seldom an organic, part of the Arthurian Romances.

The Gest Romance, on the other hand, stresses almost exclusively the warlike exploits of the hero. From the outset war is made the chief 'matter' of this type of romance, and it invariably shows impatience to get down to what is properly its primary concern. The usual formal divisions of the Arthurian Romance — Ancestry, Youth and Education, Exploits, Marriage — are foreign to the Gest Romance. It is true that in a few of these, like *Ogier le Danois* and *Godefroy de Bouillon*, a feeble attempt is made to furnish the hero with an Ancestry and a Youth — not however with an Education — but in the one this part of the romance is so brief and perfunctory and in the other so chaotic that it can safely be said that they could not have furnished Rabelais with a model for these very clear-cut divisions of his romance. In the second place, the elaborate Arthurian Romance background that Rabelais is at such pains to build up in his first two books is almost wholly wanting in the Gest Romance. On the other hand, both in the Arthurian Romances and in Rabelais, we find, in addition to the formal resemblances just pointed out, a large place given to the background: the daily life of their personages, and the political, religious, and social usages of the times, whereas these are scantied in the Gest Romances. Finally, the sense of exotism and mystery which is characteristic of the Grail-quest romances especially, while all but unknown to the Gest Romance, is consciously and faithfully reproduced in Rabelais.

Characteristic of the Arthurian Romance too is the treatment of the marvelous. When the realistic Gest Romance ventures into that path, the effect usually is as of new bricks in an old wall, as for example the imprisonment of Ogier by Morgan la Fée; or there results complete dissonance, as in *Huon de Bordeaux*, where the first part is epic in character, chron-

icing the story of a feudal tragedy, whereas the second part, dealing with Huon's journey to Babylon in order to insult the admiral and cut off his beard, a feat which he accomplishes with the help of Oberon and his magic horn, plunges the reader into the world of purest romance.<sup>1</sup> Only rarely is the grafting of this romance characteristic on a story primarily epical in character successful enough to appear natural. Illustrations of successful grafting may be found in the Swan-Knight story of the *Helyas*, or ancestry phase of the *Godefroy de Bouillon*, and in the *Maugis d'Aigremont*.

Rabelais did not neglect to impart to his work this characteristic aspect of the romance. While the marvelous of the two parts of his work shows a fundamental cleavage, that of Books I and II being almost wholly the marvelous of the popular romances, whereas that of Books IV and V is primarily the marvelous of biological science in its primitive stage, nevertheless throughout his work his marvelous, derived though it be from such varied sources as legend, popular superstition, ancient and medieval writers, and from the accounts of travelers and explorers of his own day, is skilfully enough interwoven into the main threads of his story not to offend our sense of literary propriety. Only in the first two books, however, is the marvelous made to play a major and decisive rôle, the rôle it usually plays in the Arthurian Romances; if Rabelais clings to it in the second part of his work it is because it constitutes, in one form or another, a traditional and almost essential part of the romance. In the last two books he weaves it unobtrusively into his narrative and in such a way as to arouse the interest and pleasure even of the modern and sophisticated reader.

The satirical spirit of the Middle Ages, abounding in the grotesque and delighting in burlesque, parody, and caricature

<sup>1</sup> *Huon de Bordeaux* is an inept welding together of two distinct literary genres. This welding occurred before the story reached the Gest Romance stage. As Ker points out (*Epic and Romance, passim*), Romance in many varieties is to be found inherent in Epic. Mingling of romance with epic strains is not infrequent. But this mingling in the French epic gave rise to a relation of antagonism in which the older form gave way to the newer.

in all their forms, culminated in Rabelais. In him satire attains epic proportions. He pours into the mould of the Arthurian Romance a vast satirical 'review' of the persons, institutions, beliefs, in brief of the life of his own times.<sup>2</sup> A century and a half later we shall see Fénelon likewise pour into the mould of the Homeric epic—in the *Télémaque*—a critique of the persons and practices of his day, and try to lead his royal charge in the path leading to Utopia.

In his Utopia, Rabelais enshrined Truth and universal Knowledge. They, it has already been said, are the ultimate object of his quest. The Bottle, as its concrete and visible representation, is the symbol of the intellectual and spiritual renovation of man at the time of the Renaissance. The Rabelaisian quest is instinct with the breath and spirit that animated the Revival of Learning. Its first condition of success was complete freedom from the blind beliefs and superstitions which an uncritical age had bequeathed to a more enlightened one, and an open and inquiring mind unswayed by prejudices and prepossessions. Everything that was error or unreason found in him an adversary. Thus he ran counter to many beliefs in many men, in the "demoniacles Calvins" as well as the "enraigés Putherbes."

Fanatics of their stripe pursued him with all the hatred and venom that bigotry knows so well how to employ. Twice at least he was compelled to flee to foreign lands in order to escape burning at the stake. Yet it was after his two flights, after the warning implied in the terrible fate that overtook his friend Dolet, that he leveled his most telling blows against Error. In his day too often he was accused of buffoonery by men who should have known better. His buffoonery is just another bell-clapper like the one with which Morgante laid out the Saracens by the thousands about him; it is a huge, shattering lance that Rabelais the Crusader so well knew how to place in rest against his enemies in the great CRUSADE OF TRUTH.

<sup>2</sup> Excellent treatments of this aspect of Rabelais' work may be found in Lenient, *La Satire en France; ou la littérature militante du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, I, chap. 2; and Schneegans, *Geschichte der grotesken Satire*.

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TO  
MY MOTHER



## PREFACE

Dans la présente étude sur l'emploi du français dans les relations diplomatiques, j'ai cherché autant que possible à citer, sans changement aucun, les pièces justificatives contenant les remarques et les discussions qui accompagnent les faits. Dans bien des pages il n'était question que d'événements politiques, mais quel bonheur quand, dans ce fouillis, je trouvais une phrase qui se rapportait au sujet, un témoignage de vive voix sur la langue employée dans une conférence quelconque, ou, mieux encore, une allusion à quelque discussion sur cet emploi.

Il y avait un an que j'avais commencé cette étude quand parut l'ouvrage de James Brown Scott, *Le français, langue diplomatique moderne* (Paris, [le 18 mars] 1924). Un examen soigneux de ce livre m'a convaincue que son auteur a un point de vue tout différent du mien, que ses chapitres historiques ne comprennent qu'un petit nombre des faits qui figurent dans le présent ouvrage, et, de plus, que Monsieur Scott n'a point consulté les mêmes sources. La question linguistique développée dans mon quatrième chapitre n'est pas touchée par Monsieur Scott, pas plus que l'étude du développement de l'importance d'autres langues que le français au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Je suis très reconnaissante à Monsieur R. T. Holbrook, professeur de langue française à l'Université de Californie, qui m'a proposé le sujet de la thèse et sous la direction de qui j'ai eu le plaisir d'achever mon étude, ainsi qu'à Monsieur F. E. Hinckley, maître de conférences à la Faculté de Droit de la même université, qui m'a donné des renseignements précieux dans le domaine de la diplomatie. Je tiens à remercier aussi les autres membres du jury chargé de mes études doctorales, qui m'ont si généreusement prêté leur appui, ainsi que les membres du comité chargé de l'examen des manuscrits offerts à la série *Modern Philology* de la presse universitaire. Je voudrais

ajouter les noms de Monsieur H. J. Paton, Fellow de Queen's College, Oxford, et de Monsieur Albert Guérard, professeur de littérature comparée à Stanford University, qui ont tous deux pris connaissance de mon manuscrit. Je leur suis reconnaissante de leurs remarques, qui m'ont été des plus utiles.

HENRIETTE ROUMIGUIÈRE.

# LE FRANÇAIS DANS LES RELATIONS DIPLOMATIQUES

PAR

HENRIETTE ROUMIGUIÈRE

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## INTRODUCTION

Je me rends compte combien le domaine qu'embrasse le titre de cette étude est vaste. Il convient donc, avant de la commencer, de poser les bornes et d'expliquer la thèse.

Je me propose de décrire sommairement l'histoire du français comme langue internationale dans les relations diplomatiques depuis 1648 à 1925, c'est-à-dire à partir du congrès de Westphalie jusqu'aux conférences et aux autres événements qui suivirent la guerre de 1914-1918.

C'est dans les traités, dans les rapports de conférences et de congrès, et dans les mémoires d'ambassadeurs de l'époque



que se trouvent les détails qui nous renseignent sur les relations internationales. C'est là que j'ai puisé mes faits. Presque inutile de dire que ceux-ci sont innombrables, et que je n'ai pu en recueillir que les plus saillants, les plus importants, ceux qui semblaient déterminer le cours général que devaient suivre les événements.

J'ai l'intention d'étudier d'abord le XVII<sup>e</sup> et le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, période pendant laquelle le français acquiert du prestige et une place prépondérante dans la diplomatie. Je compte présenter ensuite les causes proposées par diplomates et littérateurs comme explication de ce prestige, en soulignant celle ou celles qui me paraissent les vraies. Je continuerai à suivre la langue française dans ce rôle pendant le XIX<sup>e</sup> et le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, en faisant ressortir les faits qui tendraient à la déloger de la place importante acquise pendant les siècles précédents.

Voici la thèse: Le français a dominé dans les relations diplomatiques internationales surtout à cause de la prépondérance politique de la France vers la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le début du XVIII<sup>e</sup>. A ce prestige politique s'ajoute le prestige du français comme langue sociale et littéraire, prestige qui joua son rôle et prêta son appui vers la même époque. Quand cette prépondérance politique n'a plus été si marquée, les nations ont néanmoins continué à se servir assez généralement de la langue française dans les relations internationales, par tradition et par inertie.

Il y a certains faits d'une autre importance que je n'ai pu étudier et dont chacun est assez vaste en lui-même pour mériter une étude spéciale. Il s'agit de l'enseignement des langues étrangères dans un pays donné, et de celles qui sont préférées dans les écoles navales, militaires, diplomatiques et commerciales. Il faut tenir compte de la lutte des langues dans les colonies, ainsi que des relations commerciales et industrielles des peuples. Ajoutons enfin les influences littéraires, scientifiques ou autres, et notons le fait incontestable que ces influences sont déterminées par le choix souvent ancien et fermement établi des langues enseignées dans un pays donné. L'Italie, par exemple, depuis

le temps de Dante, a un certain culte pour la langue française, et pour cette raison même est plus vivement influencée par la littérature française qui lui est plus accessible que par aucune autre, malgré les traductions plus ou moins nombreuses d'ouvrages anglais, allemands, etc.

Il y a aussi la question des qualités ou défauts spéciaux des langues modernes comme instruments de communication, des comparaisons qui pourraient être faites au point de vue de leur phonologie, de leur orthographe, de leur syntaxe, de leur morphologie et de la richesse ou précision (car c'est la même chose!) de leur vocabulaire. Il semblerait que tout jugement sur la clarté relative d'une langue dût se baser sur ces comparaisons. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que beaucoup des controverses qui se sont élevées au sujet d'un prétendu manque de clarté, réel ou allégué, dans un passage quelconque, qu'il s'agisse du français ou d'une autre langue, tiennent aux interprétations diverses, bien ou mal intentionnées, intelligentes ou le contraire, qui en ont été faites, ou à la négligence de celui ou de ceux qui rédigèrent le document. Cela ne veut pas dire que le passage n'eût pas pu être exprimé plus clairement, même avec une clarté complète, ou que la langue même ne possédât pas des ressources qui aient été négligées. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue non plus le fait que certains manques de clarté peuvent tenir à des défauts organiques de la langue, quelle qu'elle soit, c'est-à-dire à l'absence de tel mot indispensable, ou bien, ce qui revient au même, à la possibilité de donner plus d'une interprétation au même phonème. En espagnol, en italien et en français, les adjectifs possessifs *su*, *suo*, et *son* dans leurs différentes formes, ont au moins deux sens, et peuvent facilement se prêter à des équivoques. Dans la phrase française: *Il est ici depuis deux heures*, quel est le sens de *deux heures*? L'anglais évite tout malentendu en employant le mot *hour* pour un sens, et *o'clock* pour l'autre.

Les obscurités tenant à des défauts organiques de syntaxe sont aussi fort nombreuses, quelle que soit la langue. La phrase anglaise *The man was wounded* peut se rapporter à l'acte même

d'être blessé ou à l'état qui en est le résultat. Voici d'autre part un passage tiré de la pièce *Les Bienfaiteurs* de Brieux, dont une partie se prête à au moins trois interprétations :

J'ai acheté le champ, et puis le champ d'à côté, et puis celui d'à côté encore . . . Dans ce champ-là y a-t-il de l'or? Je n'en sais rien. C'est fort possible, après tout. Mais sans perdre leur temps à s'en assurer, des Anglais ont émis des actions, ils m'en ont donné beaucoup, les actions ont monté, et voilà comment Valentin Salviat, l'ancien va-nu-pieds, est devenu cent fois millionnaire.

Ces mots *les actions ont monté* peuvent être traduits en anglais: *the stock has been going up, has gone up, went up*. Je cite un exemple sur mille.

Peut-être que le jour viendra où les hommes d'Etat, et les spécialistes en fait de relations internationales, se trouveront forcés de constituer des comités composés au moins en partie de philologues, pour étudier la question si compliquée et encore si mal comprise de la valeur relative des différentes langues de civilisation, en même temps, peut-être, de certaines langues artificielles, dans le but de recommander en pleine connaissance de cause l'adoption de telle langue comme langue internationale, ou bien même l'adoption de deux ou trois idiomes différents, suivant le but visé.

J'ai dû me contenter d'une simple allusion aux aspects multiples et compliqués de ce grand problème. J'ai l'intention de faire une étude spéciale de la question de l'importance et de la valeur relative des langues comme instruments de communication, et d'éclaircir ainsi certains détails qui se rapportent à ce travail et qui serviront à le compléter.

## CHAPITRE I

LE LATIN AU XV<sup>e</sup> ET AU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE

Le latin était la langue officielle de l'Eglise de Rome et de l'Empire romain germanique. Etroitement lié comme il l'était à ces deux puissances, il est naturel que son prestige dépendît de leur ascendant ou de leur décadence. Au Moyen Age et jusqu'à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle le pape fut une des plus puissantes autorités internationales de l'Europe, mais l'importance de cette diplomatie pontificale diminua au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Peu à peu les princes avaient commencé à traiter avec le Saint-Siège d'égal à égal. Les guerres continentales diminuaient l'autorité de l'Empire. D'autre part, au fur et à mesure que se développaient les unités nationales se fixaient les langues vulgaires. Elles prenaient d'autant plus d'importance que les peuples qui s'en servaient trouvaient en elles un élément vivant, de nouvelles tournures qui exprimaient mieux les traits particuliers de leur vie nationale que ne le pouvait la vieille langue latine.

La Renaissance, qui avait refait des latinistes, avait tué les latiniseurs. Par elle, le latin, restauré dans sa pureté antique, dépouillé des barbarismes qui le rendaient capable d'exprimer les idées du temps, scientifiques, politiques ou communes, ne pouvait plus vivre la vie des nations modernes. On l'étudiait, mais justement parce qu'on l'étudiait plus comme une langue morte, et en vue de la beauté littéraire; dès lors, il devenait de plus en plus difficile de l'utiliser comme une langue vivante, et de l'appliquer à la vie pratique, publique ou privée.<sup>1</sup>

Molinier écrit que l'habitude qu'avaient les historiens français d'écrire leurs œuvres en latin (et cette habitude dura jusqu'à l'époque des guerres de religion) ne manquait pas d'inconvénients.

On dira que ces œuvres latines étaient toujours traduites en français. Mais cela ne faisait pas le même compte, la traduction fût-elle l'œuvre propre de l'auteur. Pour écrire en latin l'histoire de Fournoue, de Ravenne

<sup>1</sup> Brunot, «Les débats du français dans la diplomatie,» *Revue de Paris* (le 15 décembre 1913).

ou de Marignan, il fallait répandre sur les faits modernes une couleur antique, remplacer les piquiers par des *hastati*, les corselets par des *loricae*, les canons par des balistes.<sup>2</sup>

En même temps se développait ce sentiment national dont parle Brantôme. François I<sup>er</sup>, après la bataille de Pavie où il fut fait prisonnier, répondit en français au marquis del Gouast.

Sur quoy, dit Brantôme, j'ay pris ce subject de faire ce discours, pour noter que, bien que ce grand roi parlast force langues, comme la latine, l'espaignolle et l'italienne, il voulait toujours porter tant d'honneur à la sienne, qu'il la préféreroit à toute autre et ne vouloit laisser en arrière, pour faire marcher devant l'estrangère.<sup>3</sup>

Le 15 août 1539 ce même roi annonçait par l'ordonnance de Villers-Cotterets que les actes publics et privés seraient désormais rédigés en français.

Et afin qu'il n'y ait cause de douter sur l'intelligence desdits arrests, nous voulons et ordonnons qu'ils soient faits et escrits si clairement, qu'il n'y ait ne puisse auoir aucune ambiguité ou incertitude, ne lieu à demander interpretation. Et pour ce que de telles choses sont souuent aduenues sur l'intelligence des mots latins contenus esdits arrests, nous voulons d'ores en auant que tous arrests, ensemble toutes autres procedures, soit de nos cours souueraines et autres subalternes et inferieures, soit de registres, enquestes, contrats, commissions, sentences, testaments, et autres quelconques actes et exploicts de justice, ou qui en dependent, soient prononcez, enregistrez, et deliurez aux parties en langaige maternel françois et non autrement.<sup>4</sup>

La France n'avait pas devancé ses voisins. En 1362 Edouard III d'Angleterre avait proscrit l'usage du français dans les actes publics. En Espagne l'emploi de la langue nationale pour les documents juridiques date du règne d'Alfonso el Sabio (1252-1284).

Cependant le latin demeura pendant longtemps la langue internationale par excellence de l'Europe. En 1552 Etienne Pasquier écrivait à M. de Tournebu :

. . . le latin a déjà gagné tant de pays, qu'il n'y a contrée si étrange ou barbare qui n'en ait quelque connoissance . . . aussi qu'il semble que cette

<sup>2</sup> Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1906), II, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Brantôme, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1864-1892), VII, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900* (Paris, 1909-1913), II, 30.

langue, par un long succès et prescription de temps ait été généralement approuvée par toutes les nations politiques, comme un outil et instrument des trafics de nos esprits, dont nous voulons faire part à tout le monde.<sup>5</sup>

Brantôme exprime son mépris pour les ambassadeurs qui ne savent point le latin.

Tant y a que ces ambassadeurs et autres qui tiennent leur place ont grant tort et grand'honte de n'apprendre les langues pour s'en servir au besoing . . . Et ressemblent un certain évesque de France, qui alla au concile dernier de Trente sans argent et sans latin, et retourna de meames. Quel embarquement sans biscuit, et quel retour aussi!<sup>6</sup>

Nous savons que les sessions du Concile de Trente commencèrent en 1545 et ne finirent qu'en 1564. C'est à une de ces sessions que Brantôme fait allusion.

François de Callières, ambassadeur français du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dit :

Chaque sujet qui se destine à être employé dans les négociations pour le service du Roy, devrait sçavoir les langues allemande, italienne, et espagnolle, avec la latine, qu'il seroit honteux d'ignorer à un homme engagé dans les employs publics, cette langue étant la langue commune de toutes les nations chrétiennes.<sup>7</sup>

Don Francisco Gutierrez de los Rios, envoyé espagnol de la même époque, qui remplit avec succès quelques missions diplomatiques en Suède et en Pologne, écrit :

L'homme bien élevé doit apprendre le latin qui se parle dans les écoles de l'Europe entière, [qui] sert à rédiger soit les traités et actes publics, soit les inscriptions commémoratives de faits glorieux ou notables et qui, enfin, est la langue de notre sainte religion.<sup>8</sup>

Quand il s'agit de relations internationales, de documents internationaux, c'est toujours du latin que l'on se sert. Les grands traités du XVI<sup>e</sup> et du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle sont presque tous dressés en latin. On commença cependant à se servir alors des langues nationales dans les conférences internationales. Est-ce à cause des diverses prononciations qui se développaient pour le latin ?

<sup>5</sup> Pasquier, *Œuvres* [Lettre II], (Amsterdam, 1723), II, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Brantôme, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1864-1892), VII, 73.

<sup>7</sup> Callières, *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains* (Paris, 1716), 98-99.

<sup>8</sup> Morel-Fatio, *Études sur l'Espagne* (Paris, 1890), II, 2<sup>ème</sup> série, 18-19.

Jean Dantesco, ambassadeur polonais à la cour de Charles V, décrit la réception que l'on fit aux ambassadeurs russes en 1525. Nul ne comprit le discours latin qui fut prononcé. Les paroles du Polonais sont traduites par le *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*.

El 2 de mayo recibió el Emperador a los rusos . . . El Emperador los recibió sentado y cubierto. Hicieron sus reverencias, quitándose sus peculiares gorros, y aunque se les había dispuesto un escaño con tela de oro, al ver que volvían a ponérselos, se les obligó a perorar de pie. Sudando a chorros por llevar en tan cálidos días dos y tres pieles sobrepuestas, pronunció el intérprete un discurso en latín que nadie entendió.<sup>9</sup>

#### Citons Bayle :

La prononciation des Langues mortes est entraînée dans chaque pais à la maniere dont on y prononce la Langue vulgaire . . . Si le Senat de Rome ressuscitoit, et qu'on y envoyât des Avocats de toutes les parties de l'Europe, pour plaider devant cet auguste Corps, il y a beaucoup d'apparence qu'il ne trouveroit presque aucune trace du Latin, dans ces bizarres et différentes prononciations. L'Auteur [Hennin, auteur d'une *Dissertation pour prouver qu'il ne faut point prononcer le Grec selon les acens*] ne semble pas être tout-à-fait de ce sentiment, quoy qu'il avouë que ces paroles de l'Evangile, *cavete vero vobis à pseudoprophetis qui veniunt ad vos in vestibus ovium*, se prononcent ainsi en Allemagne, *cafede fero fobis à psoidoprofedis, qui feniount ad fos in festibus ovioum*. Il rapporte que Scaliger ayant écouté le compliment qu'un Irlandois lui fit en Latin, crût tout de bon qu'il avoit parlé en Langue Irlandoise, et lui répondit qu'elle lui étoit inconnuë, *Domine, non intelligo Irlandicè*.<sup>10</sup>

Erasme raconte qu'à une assemblée où il fut présent, à la cour de l'empereur Maximilien, plusieurs ambassadeurs prononcèrent des harangues en latin. Toute l'assemblée crut qu'ils s'étaient servis chacun de sa langue maternelle.

Narra te quæso, ut ipse quoque tecum rideã. Dicam. Non admodũ diu est, quod me forte præsentè Maximilianus Caesar, ab aliquot oratoribus salutaretur, quod ex more magis quàm ex animo nonnunquam fieri solet, quorum unus erat Gallus, natione Cenomanus, nomen non exprimã, ne videar hominem notare cui bene volo. Is orationem ab Italo quopiam, ut arbitror, compositam, nec male Latinã, adeo Gallice pronũciavit, ut Italis aliquot eruditus qui tum aderãt, Gallice non Latine dicere crederetur. Nominare

<sup>9</sup> Paz y Mélia, «Juan Dantesco en la corte de Carlos V (1524-1527)», *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, XI (febrero de 1924).

<sup>10</sup> Bayle, *République des lettres* [Nov. 1684], (à la Haye, 1727), I, 164.

possim ex illis aliquot tibi nō ignotos. Quum is perorasset, nō absque incōmodo: Nā in media dictione sibi exciderat, turbatus, ut conicio risu circumstantiū: quaerebatur qui ex more respōderet, idquē ex tēpore. Nā Galli oratio praeter expectationem acciderat. Protrusus est negotii Doctor quidam aulicus. Unde id liquebat. Pileum gestabat suffultum cādidis pellibus. Hoc signi. Is hunc in modum orsus est, Caesarea maghestas penē caudet fidere fos, et horationem festram lipenter audifit, aliaquē tanto spiritu, tamquē Germanice, ut nemo vulgari lingua dicens, possit magis Germanice. Hūc maior excepit risus. Sequutus est orator Daniae, quamquā is qui dicebat videbatur Scotus, mire referēs eius gentis prononciationē. Huic oppositus est Zelandus quidam, deierasses neutrum loqui Latine. Quid interea Caesar [?] potuit ne tenere risum [?]<sup>11</sup>

Erasme indique la prononciation française, probablement générale, du groupe *en* ou *em* :

Vix in alia litera magis errat Gallorum vulgus, *a* pro *e* sonantium, si quando vocalem excipiat *n*, aut *m*. Nam pro *quendam* sonant *quandam*, pro *valens*, *valans*; pro *redemptus*, *redamptus*; pro *emblemata*, *amblemata*; pro *vendo*, *vando*; pro *ventosus*, *vantosus*; pro *tempus*, *tampus*. Hunc errorem subinde deprehendimus etiam in codicibus Gallorum manu descriptis aut excussis. Hic tamen emendatior est Picardorum enunciatio, nec ulli magis peccant, quam qui sibi mire Gallice videntur loqui.<sup>12</sup>

Brantôme, qui se rendait compte de l'importance du latin, nous laisse comprendre, cependant, que cette langue ne suffisait plus aux ambassadeurs. Il faut en savoir d'autres.

M. de Lansac disoit qu'il est très nécessaire qu'un ambassadeur entende et parle le plus de langues qu'il peut, pour s'en servir a la nécessité aux lieux qu'il sera, et mesme pour l'espaignolle, latine, françoise et italienne; car pour les autres elles sont difficilles, et pour ce ils sont excusables; mais pour ces quatre, ils en doivent estre taxes et blasmez s'ils ne les sçavent . . .<sup>13</sup>

Le cardinal Dossat, vice-ambassadeur français à Rome en 1598, parlait plus souvent l'italien qu'aucune autre langue. C'est de cette langue qu'il se servit dans une entrevue avec la princesse et l'archiduchesse d'Autriche et l'archiduc Albert, qui visitaient l'Italie. Il écrit à monsieur de Villeroy le 17 novembre 1598 :

<sup>11</sup> Erasmus, «De Recta Latini Graecique Sermonis Prononciatione,» *Omnia Opera* (Basileae, 1650), I, 811-812.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 785.

<sup>13</sup> Brantôme, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1864-1892), VII, 74.



Je fus faire le compliment envers tous trois, comme serviteur du Roi. Elles avoient un truchement, qui leur disoit en allemand ce que je leur disois en italien; et me répondoit a moi en italien ce qu'elles lui avoient dit en allemand. L'Archiduc n'avoit point de truchement, et me répondit en Espagnol.<sup>14</sup>

De quelles langues se servait-on dans les cours les plus importantes du dix-septième siècle?

A la cour de Constantinople tous les Ministres ont leurs Dragomans. Les Turcs ne savent point d'autre langue que la leur, et n'en admettent point d'autre.<sup>15</sup>

La harangue que l'Ambassadeur d'obedience fait au Consistoire, ou qu'il y fait faire, est Latine: mais toutes les negociations, qui se font, tant avec le Pape, qu'avec les Cardinaux néveux, se font en Italien.<sup>16</sup>

En France tous les Ministres negocient en François, et parlent tous François en leurs audiences et en leurs Memoires. Le Comte de la Garde, Ambassadeur de Suede, parla Suedois en la premiere harangue, qu'il fit au Roy et à la Reine Regente: en quoi il fit bien quelque chose pour la dignité de la Couronne de Suede en apparence; mais on y trouva à redire, qu'il se servoit d'une langue que pas un des sujets du Roy ne pouvoit ni entendre ni interpreter. Il fit un grand discours ensuite au Duc d'Orleans, . . . et il ne parla que François en toute la suite de sa negociation.<sup>17</sup>

En Angleterre presque tous les Ministres negocient en François: ce que l'on y souffre, tant parce que c'estoit autrefois la langue du païs, que parce que la langue Française a en quelque façon succédé à la Latine, et est devenue commune.<sup>18</sup>

A Madrid on negocié en Espagnol, bien que l'Ambassadeur de France se serve de la langue de son païs, et que celui des Provinces Unies, . . . presente aussi ses memoires ou en Flamand, ou bien en François, avec une traduction Espagnole.<sup>19</sup>

A Vienne on se sert de l'Alleman et du Latin, et quelquefois de l'Italien, qui y est assés familier.<sup>20</sup>

La langue latine est fort familiere en Pologne, et les Ambassadeurs n'y en employent point d'autre, et quelquefois l'Italienne, mais rarement; si ce n'est dans la conversation.<sup>21</sup>

Quel sera le rôle du français dans les négociations internationales? Nous suivrons le développement de l'emploi de cette langue dans les conférences qui précédèrent les grands traités de l'Europe de 1648 à 1800.

<sup>14</sup> Cardinal Dossat, *Lettres* (Amsterdam, 1714), III, 237.

<sup>15</sup> Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (Cologne, 1690), Livre II, 33.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPITRE II

LES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES  
DE 1648 A 1800

Les projets des traités de Westphalie furent dressés aux congrès de Munster et d'Osnabruck où se trouvèrent réunis des représentants de tous les pays d'Europe, sauf de l'Angleterre, de la Pologne, de la Turquie et de la Moscovie. Les négociations commencées en 1636 à Cologne, à la prière du pape Urbain VIII et de la seigneurie de Venise, et en 1637 à Hambourg sous la médiation du roi de Danemark, Christian IV, avaient été sans résultat. En 1641, on décida de continuer les négociations à Munster et à Osnabruck en Westphalie. Les délibérations ne s'ouvrirent qu'au mois d'avril 1645. A Munster, l'Empire traitait avec la France sous la médiation de Fabio Chigi, nonce du pape, et de Luigi Contarini, ambassadeur vénitien; à Osnabruck, directement avec la Suède. Les traités de Munster et d'Osnabruck furent signés le 24 octobre 1648.

Le texte des traités est en latin. On employa cette langue dans presque tous les documents et projets échangés entre ambassadeurs. Elle fut aussi employée dans les discours, surtout par les plénipotentiaires de l'Empire et de la Suède. François Ogier, aumônier du comte d'Avaux, ambassadeur français à Munster, écrit dans son journal :

Le lundi 18 [le 18 avril 1644], arriva M. de la Thuillerie, ambassadeur ordinaire aux Etats, mais extraordinaire vers les royaumes de Suède et de Danemarck, pour traiter la paix entre eux au nom du Roi . . . Le mercredi 4 de mai, il partit, et prit son chemin vers Osnabrug; . . . Il menoit avec lui un honnête homme qu'il avoit fait venir de Paris, pour être sa langue et sa plume en pays de latin.<sup>1</sup>

Isaac Volmar, plénipotentiaire de l'Empire, se sert presque toujours du latin.

<sup>1</sup> Ogier, *Journal du congrès de Munster* (Paris, 1893), 64.

Dahero zwischen dem Kayserlichen Gesandten Volmar, und dem Schwedischen Legat Salvio, in dessen Quartier, ein freundliches Colloquium in Lateinischer Sprache am 10. und 17<sup>ten</sup> Mart. [1647] gehalten wurde.<sup>2</sup>

Darauf begab sich der Graf von Nassau nebst dem Legato Volmar, Samstags den 5<sup>ten</sup> Maji [1646], Vormittag um 10. Uhr, zu den Mediatoren; und behändigten ihnen, die abgekürzte Duplicam, mit nachfolgendem von dem Legaten Volmar gehaltenen Vortrag: [le discours qui suit est en latin].<sup>3</sup>

Quelquefois cependant il se sert de l'italien, la langue vulgaire presque officielle à la cour d'Autriche.

Die Kayserliche Gesandten stellten darauf, Dienstags den 7. Mart. [1645] solche ihre, nach den gemachten Erinnerungen eingerichtete Proposition, den Mediatoren, mit dieser von dem Legato Volmar gehaltenen Italiänischen Rede, zu . . .<sup>4</sup>

Le médiateur vénitien, Luigi Contarini, et le nonce du pape, Fabio Chigi, s'exprimaient aussi en italien. Les ambassadeurs impériaux racontent que sur la délivrance des propositions de paix par les ambassadeurs de l'Empereur et des rois de France et d'Espagne à Munster, le 4 décembre 1644:

L'Ambassadeur de Venise voulant faire connoître qu'il étoit content de cette Conférence, la termina par ces mots de même que le Nonce, Uscio dire che habbiamo fatto una buona raccolta.<sup>5</sup>

On trouve un passage à ce sujet dans une lettre des plénipotentiaires français au comte de Brienne [le 14 janvier 1646].

Les Médiateurs ont mis en écrit ce que nous leur avons dit, et en ont pris des notes en Langue Italienne qu'ils ont depuis fait traduire en assez mauvais Latin.<sup>6</sup>

L'espagnol ne fut que rarement employé par les ambassadeurs du roi d'Espagne. Don Diego Saavedra se servit aussi bien de l'italien et du latin, le comte de Peñaranda, tantôt de l'espagnol, tantôt du latin.

<sup>2</sup> Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae* (Hannover, 1734), IV, 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 368.

<sup>5</sup> Jean le Clerc, *Négociations secrètes touchant la paix de Munster et d'Osnabrug* (à la Haye, 1724), I, 317.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 16.

Am 6<sup>ten</sup> Novembris [1643] langete auch Don Diego Saavedra, als Spanischer Gesandter zu Münster an . . . Der Graff von Nassau redete Frantzösisch, Volmar Italiänisch, und Saavedra Spanisch, so lange die Complimenten wäähreten; der Discours aber gieng hernach Frantzösisch durch einander.<sup>7</sup>

Hierauf ertheilte Saavedra, nachdeme Er sich mit seinen Collegien besprochen hatte, in Italiänischer Sprache die Antwort, dahin:<sup>8</sup>

Ainsi les quatre Ambassadeurs d'Espagne, savoir le Comte de Peñaranda, l'Archevêque de Cambrai, Don Saavedra et Monsieur Brun . . . sont venus à notre logement . . . ils ont [sic] resté environ une heure dans la chambre d'audience, le Comte de Peñaranda parla le premier en peu de mots en Espagnol, ensuite Monsieur Brun le fit en Latin, l'Archevêque de Cambrai en Hollandois et Don Saavedra aussi en Latin. Le Duc de Peñaranda parla après cela toujours en Latin, nous souhaitant la bienvenuë [le 14 janvier 1646].<sup>9</sup>

Quel rôle joua la langue française dans ces délibérations internationales, et dans quelles circonstances? Nous avons déjà cité plus haut une des occasions les plus importantes. Dans une réunion entre ambassadeurs impériaux et espagnols, le comte de Nassau se sert du français; Volmar, de l'italien; Saavedra, de l'espagnol, «so lange die Complimenten wäähreten; der Discours aber gieng hernach Frantzösisch durch einander.» Souvenons-nous que les deux ambassadeurs de l'Empire ainsi que l'ambassadeur espagnol connaissaient très bien le latin, et s'en servent dans d'autres occasions.

Le 27 octobre 1643, le comte de Zapata, ambassadeur espagnol, reçoit la visite des ambassadeurs impériaux. On parla français.

Den 27<sup>ten</sup> Octobr. gaben Ihnen die Käyserlichen Gesandten die Visite, wobey allerseits Frantzösisch geredet wurde.<sup>10</sup>

Le 10 novembre 1643, les ambassadeurs impériaux se réunirent encore une fois avec les ambassadeurs espagnols. Le comte de Nassau parla français; Volmar, latin.

<sup>7</sup> Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, I, 58.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 69.

<sup>9</sup> Jean le Clerc, *Négociations secrètes touchant la paix de Munster et d'Osnabrug* (à la Haye, 1724), III, 397.

<sup>10</sup> Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, I, 57.

Nachdeme sich nun selbige des Nachmittags bey dem Graffen von Nassau eingefunden, deutete dieser, nach allerseits genommenen Sitz, dem Legato Volmar, in Frantzösischer Sprache an, den Vortrag zu thun, welcher solches sofort in folgender Rede bewerkstelligte [en latin]:<sup>11</sup>

Le 21 mars 1644, le comte d'Avaux reçoit chez lui les ambassadeurs impériaux. Volmar lui adressa la parole en latin; il répondit en français.

Montags den 21. Mart. legten die Kayserliche Gesandten die Visite bey dem Frantzösischen Ambassadeur, Comte d'Avaux, in seinem Quartier, ab . . . und der Gesandte Volmar nachstehende Rede in Lateinischer Sprache hielt. . . . Diese Rede beantwortete der Frantzösische Gesandte, in Frantzösischer Sprache, dahin:<sup>12</sup>

Le comte d'Avaux savait-il le latin? Je cite quelques lignes de l'introduction à la *Correspondance Inédite* du Comte d'Avaux (Claude de Mesmes) avec son père :

. . . il [Claude de Mesmes] était orateur, et parlait le latin et l'italien avec autant de pureté que le français, et avec cette facilité proverbiale dans sa famille, que les contemporains appelaient Memmiana facundia.<sup>13</sup>

Il écrivait à son père de Marienbourg, le 27 mai 1635 :

L'autre jour, pour ma récréation, je fis response à Mr Bourbon, laquelle je vous supplie de luy envoyer fermée, par M<sup>r</sup> Henin, avec ma harangue aux Estats de Suède au cas qu'il la demande.<sup>14</sup>

L'éditeur ajoute :

Nous avons retrouvé une copie de la harangue latine de d'Avaux aux états de Suède à la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, dans le vol. 4532, p. 105 (Papiers de Conrart).<sup>15</sup>

Dans une lettre adressée à la reine de France le 18 mars 1644, le comte d'Avaux raconte son entrevue avec les Bourguemaîtres de la ville de Munster.

Ils m'ont parlé Latin, et moi à eux, mais je ne me suis pas conformé à leur sens, comme à leur langage.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 191-192.

<sup>13</sup> *Correspondance inédite du Comte d'Avaux avec son père Jean-Jacques de Mesmes, Sr de Roissy*, publiée par A. Boppe (Paris, 1887), Introduction, IX.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 81-82.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Note 3, 80.

<sup>16</sup> Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, I, 188.

Son collègue Abel Servien lui en voulait de cette habileté à manier cette langue, habileté qui donnait à d'Avaux un certain prestige dans les négociations avec les peuples du Nord. On lit dans une lettre reçue par d'Avaux de son collègue :

Vous voulez faire croire en passant, qu'à cause que la Conference que nous eûmes un jour avec le Resident de Dannemark se passa en Latin, je fus bien aise de vous laisser parler . . . Il me semble que je m'expliquai assez passablement; au moins sans faire de solecisme; je suis bien marri si je ne le pûs faire en termes si élégans que vous.<sup>17</sup>

Le 18 août 1644, le comte d'Avaux écrit à la reine de France pour se disculper :

Il est hors de doute que sans parler Latin ou Allemand, il est impossible de bien servir le Roi en Allemagne, ni dans tout le Nord.<sup>18</sup>

Le 21 octobre 1645, le duc de Longueville, plénipotentiaire français, reçoit la visite des ambassadeurs impériaux.

Der Kayserliche Principal-Gesandte, Graf von Nassau redete am ersten den Duc de Longueville, in Frantzösischer, und folgendts in Lateinischer Sprache an, . . . Dienstags den 24. ejusdem erstattete der Duc de Longueville die Revisite . . . Nach genomener Session hielt der Duc de Longueville eine sehr zierliche Rede, in Frantzösischer Sprache, . . . darauf der Graf von Nassau ebenfalls Frantzösisch, und nachgehends Volmar Lateinisch antwortete.<sup>19</sup>

Et le 26 novembre 1645 :

Ceremoniel bey der Revisite des Legati Volmars an den Duc de Longueville. . . Volmar redete Italiänisch, und der Duc Frantzösisch.<sup>20</sup>

Le duc de Longueville comprenait le latin mais ne le parlait pas :

. . . weil der Duc de Longueville zwar die Lateinische Sprache verstehe, aber nicht rede.<sup>21</sup>

A l'arrivée du duc de Longueville à Munster, au mois de janvier 1648, l'électeur de Brandebourg, qui parlait français et italien, voulut agir en intermédiaire entre le duc de Longue-

<sup>17</sup> Jean le Clerc, *Négociations secrètes*, etc., I, 91.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>19</sup> Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, II, 61-62.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 915.

ville et l'électeur de Saxe qui comprenait le français mais ne le parlait pas. Ce dernier lui refusa cet honneur. Je cite Meiern :

Es hielten aber die Sächsischen dafür, es sey nicht de autoritate Imperii, dass man sich solcher gestalt der Frantzösischen Sprache im Vortrag gebrauche.<sup>22</sup>

Durch den Chur-Sächsischen Abgesandren [sic], D' Leubern, wurde Lateinisch proponiret, des Inhalts . . . Der Duc de Longueville antwortete in Frantzösischer Sprache, . . .<sup>23</sup>

Jusqu'ici il n'a été question que de la langue parlée. Dans quelques rares occasions, cependant, les ambassadeurs français et espagnols osèrent se servir de leurs langues maternelles dans certaines propositions écrites qu'ils adressèrent aux médiateurs italiens.

Die Spanier begriffen diese Gründe, und willigten, mit Uebergehung dieser Cautel, in die Auslieferung ihrer Proposition, welche sowol im Spanischen N. I. als nach der Uebersetzung in die Lateinische Sprache, N. II. also lautet.<sup>24</sup>

Die an eben demselbigen Tage, nehmlich den 1. Junii, von den Frantzösischen Gesandten zu Münster ausgelieferte Friedens-Proposition, war in Frantzösischer Sprache abgefasst, wie ab N. I. zu ersehen; weil aber solches dem Idiomatici Imperii ungemäß war: gleichwohl die Umstände damahls nicht verstatteten, darüber Weitläufigkeiten zu machen; so wurde solche Proposition, nachgehends in der Kayserlichen Cantzley in die Lateinische Sprache, wie N. II. ausweiset, übersetzt . . .<sup>25</sup>

Au mois de septembre 1644, les médiateurs décidèrent que les pleinspouvoirs des ambassadeurs seraient dressés en latin. Il n'y a que les ambassadeurs français et espagnols qui refusent de se soumettre à ce règlement.

Die Mediatorens hielten nun vor gut, die Sachen, wegen Verbesserung der Vollmachten, dahin zu bringen, daß eine gemeine Form der Plenipotenz, in Lateinischer Sprache, tanquam communi lingua, möchte entworfen werden: alleine weder die Frantzosen noch die Spanier, wollten darein willigen, sondern jeder Theil verlangte bey seiner eigenen Sprache zu verbleiben.<sup>26</sup>

Le 16 octobre 1645, les médiateurs italiens, à la prière des ambassadeurs impériaux, exigent que les Français se servent du

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 916.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 318.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 916.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 443.

latin dans leurs déclarations; et, de plus, qu'ils joignent une traduction latine au texte français, dans les cas où il leur plaît de se servir du français.

Nächst dem, waren die Frantzosen zu erinnern, daß sie ihre künftige Declarationes in Lateinischer Sprache übergeben möchten . . . Woferne aber einige Sachen vorkommen würden, worüber die Frantzosen eine schriftliche Erklärung von sich zu stellen hätten; da wollten sie mit ihnen handeln, daß, woferne sie ja solche Schriften in ihrer natural-Sprache ausstellen wollten, sie wenigstens ein von ihnen selbst gefertigtes Lateinisches Translatum mit beylegen sollten.<sup>27</sup>

La réponse envoyée par les ambassadeurs français, le 3 juin 1646, à une déclaration impériale, réponse contenant leurs déclarations de paix, est écrite en français. Ils refusèrent d'y joindre une traduction latine.

Die noch mehreren Differenz-Puncten ergeben sich aus der von den Frantzosen, obvermeldter maßen, an die Mediatores ausgehändigten schriftlichen Antwort, welche Sie, wieder den bisherigen Stylum, in ihrer Sprache verfasst, solche auch in das Lateinische nicht vertiren wollten; dahero man die Übersetzung selbst verrichten musste, welche der Fürstlich-Sachsen-Weimarische Gesandte D. Höher, auf geschene Requisition, besorgte.<sup>28</sup>

Le traité des Pyrénées entre la France et l'Espagne fut signé le 7 novembre 1659. Les conférences qui précédèrent le traité eurent lieu à Saint Jean de Luz. Le cardinal Mazarin y représenta la France; Don Luis de Haro, l'Espagne. Le premier se servit de la langue italienne, sa langue maternelle; le dernier, de l'espagnol.

Il y eut vingt-cinq Conférences dans la Négotiation, les unes plus longues, les autres plus courtes, selon les affaires; et dans toutes Monsieur le Cardinal parla toujours Italien, et Dom Louis de Haro Espagnol.<sup>29</sup>

Le traité fut dressé en français et en espagnol.

Lorsque tout a esté prest, nous avons signé, chacun en particulier, sur nostre table, les deux traittez de paix en français et en espagnol, et tous les autres escrits qui regardent l'exécution dont nous étions tombés d'accord . . .<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, I, 737.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 37.

<sup>29</sup> Dumont, *Mémoires politiques pour servir à la parfaite intelligence de l'histoire de la Paix de Ryswick* (à la Haye, 1699), I, 100.

<sup>30</sup> Mazarin, *Lettre à Le Tellier* [le 7 nov. 1659]. *Mélanges et Documents*, Espagne, LVII, fo 253. Cité par Vast, *Les grands traités du règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1893), I, 89.



Le traité d'Aix-la-Chapelle dressé entre la France et l'Espagne en 1668 est en français.

A Nimègue, Louis XIV traita avec la Hollande, l'Espagne, et l'Empire. On ne se servit du français que pour le traité du 10 août 1678, entre la France et la Hollande. Le traité entre la France et l'Espagne du 17 septembre 1678, fut écrit en français et en espagnol.

Monsieur de Beverning alla trouver quelque temps après Messieurs les Ambassadeurs de France, et Monsieur de Haren ceux d'Espagne, pendant que le Sr. de Hulft, Secrétaire de l'Ambass. de Hollande mettoit deux exemplaires du Traité sur la table, l'un escrit en Espagnol à la place de Monsieur le Marquis de los Balbases, et l'autre en François à celle de Monsieur le Mareschal d'Estrades . . .<sup>31</sup>

Le traité du 5 février 1679, entre la France et l'Empire, fut dressé en latin.

M. Stratman portoit le Traité de l'Empire, et M. Colbert celui de France . . . Les deux Traitez estoient écrits en Latin . . .<sup>32</sup>

L'ordre de procéder dans l'assemblée était par échange de propositions et de réponses adressées aux médiateurs. Ces pièces ont été recueillies par Adriaen Moetjens dans les *Actes et Mémoires des Négotiations de la Paix de Nimègue*. Les propositions de l'Empire, du Danemark et de la Suède sont en latin; celles de la Hollande et de la France, en français; celles de l'Espagne, en espagnol.

Cependant, les pleinspouvoirs furent dressés en français aussi bien qu'en latin.

Mais s'étant encore rencontré de grands obstacles sur le sujet de leurs Pleinspouvoirs, pour les applanir, Messieurs les Mediateurs trouverent bon de dresser des formulaires de Pleinspouvoirs, un en Latin, et l'autre en François.<sup>33</sup>

William Temple, médiateur anglais au congrès de Nimègue, nous raconte à ce sujet un événement important.

<sup>31</sup> Limojon de Saint-Disdier, *Histoire des négociations de Nimègue*, cité par Brunot, *Revue de Paris* (le 15 déc. 1913).

<sup>32</sup> Moetjens, *Actes et mémoires des négociations de la paix de Nimègue* (Amsterdam, 1679), I, 652-653.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, I, Avertissement.

The Danish ambassador stood positively upon the common use of the Latin tongue between France and them, in their powers, or else to give his in Danish, if they gave theirs in French. These said, that it was a novelty and an impertinence; and that, if in all the intercourse that had ever been between those two Crowns, the language had not been French on their side, and Latin on the Danes, even in any one instrument, they were content they should give their powers not only in Danish, but in Hebrew if they pleased. . . . The Dane's pretence about the languages, being neither countenanced nor approved by any of his allies, was at last yielded by him. . . .<sup>34</sup>

L'ambassadeur français, le maréchal d'Estrades, s'excusa de sa connaissance imparfaite du latin. Il pria Charles Colbert, marquis de Croissy, de le remplacer. Celui-ci avoua que la pratique lui manquait pour le parler couramment, mais les ambassadeurs impériaux refusèrent de lui permettre de se servir d'une autre langue.

Marescallus Destrades, excusata Linguae Latinae imperitia, eo quod a juventute arma tractasset diligentius quam libros, rogabat Colbertium, ut vires suppleret, qui confessus ex stylo inter Sacram Caesaream Majestatem et Regem suum recepto non alia in negotiis, quam Latina lingua utendum esse, sibi vero deesse usum et exercitium prompte ea lingua loquendi, quam [quamquam] alias calleret. Nos obstitimus ut quilibet in hoc colloquio sensus suos qua vellet Lingua explicaret.<sup>35</sup>

#### On lit dans les mémoires de William Temple :

As to the objection against the style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French words and turns of expression; it is to be considered, that, at the treaty of Nimeguen, all business, either by writing or discourse, passed in the French tongue; and the Author having lived so many years abroad in that and former embassies, where all business, as well as conversation, ran in that language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon public affairs without some tincture of it in his style; . . .<sup>36</sup>

#### Ailleurs il ajoute :

For the first, we gave in a paper to the French and Dutch Ambassadors, with certain articles, to which we desired their consent; . . . They were these, as we gave them in French, the language used in all conferences, and most papers, that passed in this treaty.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Temple, *Memoirs of what passed in Christendom from the war begun 1672 to the peace concluded 1679*, dans *Works* (London, 1814), II, 400-401.

<sup>35</sup> *Actes et mémoires des négociations de la paix de Ryswick* (à la Haye, 1699), II, 13.

<sup>36</sup> Temple, *Memoirs etc.*, dans *Works* (London, 1814), II, 499.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 357.

Il est à noter que si par occasion on se sert du français ou de quelque autre langue nationale dans les discours ou même dans les propositions écrites, ce n'est toujours que dans les documents préliminaires et particuliers. Les traités mêmes, ainsi que toutes les pièces les plus importantes qui s'y rattachent, sont dressés en latin. Il en est de même d'autres traités de l'époque, et les lettres et mémoires d'ambassadeurs de ce temps racontent bien des circonstances où cet usage est suivi.

Wicquefort nous dit que les Anglais se servaient volontiers du français. Il dit vrai si l'on doit se fier au témoignage du comte de Cominges, ambassadeur ordinaire à Londres vers 1663. Il ne savait pas un mot d'anglais et n'aurait jamais osé en prononcer une syllabe.

He seems, to his honour be it said, to have objected on this account to his own appointment to London; but his objection was over-ruled, as well it might be: appointments to England would have been difficult indeed if the King had expected from his envoys a knowledge of English.<sup>38</sup>

Mais ce qui était de règle entre l'Angleterre et la France ne l'était plus quand il s'agissait d'une assemblée dont faisaient partie le Danemark, la Hollande et la Suède. Le 7 août 1667, le comte d'Estrades, ambassadeur français, écrivait au roi :

Pour éviter les incidens qui pourroient naître sur l'échange des ratifications, Messieurs les Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre nous ont prié d'en dresser un Projet. Nous avons crû que le meilleur étoit de nous arrêter à celui du Traité des Pyrénées, et ces Messieurs l'ont accepté. Ils souhaiteroient que Votre Majesté la fit expédier en Latin suivant la Traduction qui en a été faite: leur raison est que leurs Traitez ordinaires entre Votre Majesté et le Roi de la Grande Bretagne se faisant en François, la ratification en doit être dressée dans la même langue, mais que comme on est convenu dans cette Assemblée, à cause des nations différentes, de se servir de la langue Latine, il semble qu'il y ait quelque nécessité de s'en servir encore dans l'Acte, qui assure tout ce qui s'est traité entre nous.<sup>39</sup>

Il s'agissait du traité de Bréda, signé le 31 juillet 1667, entre la Hollande et la France d'une part, et l'Angleterre de l'autre.

<sup>38</sup> Jusserand, *A French ambassador at the court of Charles II* (Popular Edition, 1895), 52.

<sup>39</sup> *Lettres, mémoires, et négociations de Monsieur le comte d'Estrades* (à la Haye, 1719), VI, 7.

Le Danemark y était représenté. La Suède jouait le rôle de médiatrice.

Cinq jours plus tard, le comte d'Estrades recevait une lettre de Mr. de Lionne, ministre d'Etat. Il écrivait :

Je ne crois pas qu'on doive expédier la Ratification du Roi en autre Langue que la nôtre, il y a plus d'un siècle que la Secretairie d'Etat n'en a usé autrement.<sup>40</sup>

Mais ce fut en latin cependant que l'on finit par écrire la ratification, selon une lettre datée du 19 août 1667 et adressée au comte d'Estrades par Mr. de Lionne.

J'ai reçu hier deux expéditions de la Ratification du Roi pour les faire scéler à Monsieur le Chancelier; j'en ai envoyé une à la Cour pour être remise à Monsieur Pelletier, et je vous adresse l'autre par l'Ordinaire: on les a fait en Latin, parce qu'on n'avoit pas encore reçu la Lettre, par laquelle je conseillois d'en user de la sorte; . . .<sup>41</sup>

En 1668, Sir William Temple fut envoyé en Hollande pour négocier un projet d'entente entre l'Angleterre et les Etats des Provinces Unies. Le projet du traité fut dressé en français et ensuite traduit en latin.

It is to be observ'd, that the Minutes, or first Draught of these Instruments was in French, and that the only Difficulty that occur'd was in this Expression, viz. *In case their Persuasions to Spain should not prevail, and they should come, à la Force et à la Contrainte*; which Sir William Temple moderated at first by the words (*aux moyens plus durs*) and afterwards (*aux moyens plus efficaces*). Having set [sic] up all Saturday Night, till Sunday Morning, (Jan. 22. N.S.) they agreed upon the Project in French, and gave Order for the translating it into Latin, which was done. . . .<sup>42</sup>

Dans une lettre du 9 juillet 1669, Temple rend compte à son souverain de ses négociations en vue d'un nouveau traité entre les deux pays. On y lit :

The enclosed form of all the additional Articles, is what they will consent to. The last about Trade with free Nations, goes in Latin, to avoid the Translation which the other must undergo upon perfecting the Treaty. . . .<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Lettres, mémoires, et négociations de monsieur le comte d'Estrades*, IV, 14.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 17.

<sup>42</sup> Boyer, *Memoirs of Life and Negotiations of Sir William Temple* (London, 1714), 27.

<sup>43</sup> Sir William Temple, *Letters* (London, 1699), 188-189.

Au congrès de Cologne, les médiateurs suédois, les Sieurs Sparre et Ehrenstein, se servirent de leur langue maternelle dans leurs discours, mais ne manquèrent pas de délivrer leurs propositions par écrit et en latin.

Ils demandèrent audience des Etats, laquelle ils obtinrent le 6. Janvier 1673, introduits et accompagnés par les Sieurs Merens et d'Odyck. Ils parlèrent en Suedois, mais ils delivrerent leur proposition en Latin par un écrit dont voici la traduction: . . .<sup>44</sup>

Peu de jours auparavant sçavoir le 12. ou 15. du mois de May les Médiateurs Sparre et Ehrenstein s'y rendirent aussy . . . Leur discours prononcé en Suedois, et delivré en Latin, fut de la teneur suivante . . .<sup>45</sup>

Il est important de noter qu'en 1674 Sir William Temple prononça un discours en anglais devant les États des Provinces Unies, discours qui fut écrit et délivré non pas en latin mais en français.

Il eut sa première Audience des Etats dans la maniere accoutumée. Son Secrétaire portoit devant lui une Lettre du Roi dont la teneur suit, et laquelle l'Ambassadeur mit entre les mains du President, après quoi s'étant remis dans la Chaise à bras qui lui avoit été préparé, il fit son Discours en Anglois et le delivra en François.<sup>46</sup>

Les deux traités de Ryswick, celui du 20 septembre 1697 entre la Grande-Bretagne, la France, l'Espagne et la Hollande, et celui du 30 octobre 1697 entre l'Empire et la France, furent dressés en latin. C'est la Suède qui joua en cette occasion le rôle de médiatrice. Le 20 juillet 1697, les plénipotentiaires français présentèrent leur projet de paix écrit en français. Il y eut de vives protestations de la part d'ambassadeurs étrangers. Voici la réponse que reçurent les ambassadeurs français des ambassadeurs impériaux :

L'usage établi veut, que dans les Negotiations des Traitez entre l'Empereur, et l'Empire d'un côté, et la France de l'autre, on se serve de la Langue Latine, et sur tout, que les Ecrits qu'on délivre de part et d'autre soient en cette Langue. C'est pourquoi on demande avec raison, que cet usage soit observé à l'égard de ce Projet, et dans la suite de la négociation.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Dumont, *Mémoires politiques pour servir à la parfaite intelligence de l'histoire de la paix de Ryswick* (à la Haye, 1699), III, 100.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 307-308.

<sup>47</sup> *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la négociation de la paix à Ryswick* (à la Haye, 1697), II, 24-25.

Le traité d'Utrecht (1713) entre la France et la Prusse est en latin; celui dressé la même année entre la France et l'Angleterre est en latin et en français, c'est-à-dire, en deux exemplaires, l'un en français, l'autre en latin.

Le premier traité dressé en français entre la France et l'Empire fut signé à Rastadt le 6 mars 1714. Le prince Eugène avait bien demandé que le projet de la France, écrit en français, fût traduit en latin, et le roi de France y avait consenti. Villars, représentant français à Rastadt, se décida à faire venir un jésuite plus sûr de son latin que lui. Il écrit le 4 mars 1714: . . . avec les intentions les meilleures et les plus droites de part et d'autre nous en trouverons de telles [expressions] que l'on sera huit jours à convenir du véritable sens de certains mots latins.<sup>48</sup>

On traîna. Le prince se lassa et consentit à signer le traité écrit en français, mais il eut soin d'y faire insérer l'article suivant:

Le présent traité, par les raisons mentionnées dans l'article XXXIII, ayant été commencé, poursuivi et achevé sans les solennités et formalités requises et usitées à l'égard de l'Empire, et composé et rédigé en langue française contre l'usage ordinairement observé dans les traités entre S. M. Impériale, l'Empire et S. M. Très Chrétienne, cette différence ne pourra être alléguée pour exemple, ni tirer à conséquence ou porter préjudice en aucune manière à qui que ce soit et l'on se conformera à l'avenir à tout ce qui a été observé jusqu'à présent dans de semblables occasions, tant à l'égard de la langue latine que pour les autres formalités . . .<sup>49</sup>

Si l'on fit usage du français, ce fut pour ne pas perdre du temps, comme l'indiquent les premières lignes de l'article XXXIII du traité.

La conjoncture présente n'ayant pas laissé le tems à Sa Majesté Impériale de consulter les Electeurs, Princes et Etats de l'Empire sur les conditions de la paix, non plus qu'à ceux-cy de consentir dans les formes ordinaires, au nom de tout l'Empire, aux conditions du présent Traité qui les regardent, etc.<sup>50</sup>

Le traité de la Quadruple Alliance, qui comprend le roi de la Grande-Bretagne, l'Empereur, le roi de France, et les Etats

<sup>48</sup> Affaires étrangères, Autriche, Corr. 97, fo 51, cité par Brunot, *Histoire de la langue etc.*, V, 419.

<sup>49</sup> Dumont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens* (Amsterdam, 1726-1731), VIII, partie I, 422.

<sup>50</sup> Vast, *Les grands traités du règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1893), III, 183-184.

des Provinces Unies, fut signé à Londres le 2 août 1718. Il est rédigé en latin. On y lit un article des plus intéressants où il est assuré que cet usage ne devra point tirer à conséquence pour l'avenir, dans les traités qui se feront entre la Grande-Bretagne et la France.

Comme selon l'usage, que l'on est convenu reciproquement de suivre dans les Traitez conclus entre leurs Majestez Britannique et Très-Chrétienne à Riswik, à Utrecht et à la Haye pour la Triple Alliance, on a dressé les Actes en Latin, pour le Roy de la Grande-Bretagne, et en François pour le Roy Très-Chrétien, en declarant cependant que s'il y a eu precedemment un autre usage, le Roy Très-Chrétien s'y conformera dans la suite; et comme l'on n'a pu observer ledit usage, dans le Traité signé ce jourd'hui, entre l'Empereur des Romains, le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, le Roy Très-Chrétien, et les Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies des Pais Bas, sans tomber dans l'inconvenient d'en dresser encore plusieurs Actes, ce qui obligeroit de differer plus long-tems la signature de ce Traité. D'ailleurs quelques-uns des Plenipotenciaires, aiant demandé avec instance, qu'il ne fut dressé aucun Acte du Traité de ce jour, sans être muni en même-tems, de la signature de toutes les Parties contractantes, ce qui a fait que tous les Actes dudit Traité ont été dressez en Langue Latine. Dans cette vuë, afin que cet exemple ne passe point en usage entre le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne et le Roi Très-Chrétien, Nous Plenipotenciaires de Sa Majesté Britannique, à la requisition du Plenipotenciaire de Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne, declarons que tout ce qui a rapport à la Langue dans laquelle est écrit le Traité de ce jour ne pourra servir d'exemple, ni être cité à l'avenir, mais que l'usage qui étoit reçu auparavant entre l'un [sic] et l'autre Couronne aura lieu; de sorte que ce qui s'est fait aujourd'hui n'y dérogera en aucune maniere, et ne donnera point de nouveau droit pour en user autrement.<sup>51</sup>

Le traité de Nystedt (1721) entre la Suède et la Russie est dressé en russe et en allemand.

Résumons les faits les plus importants. Les traités de Munster et d'Osnabruck (1648) sont dressés en latin. Dans les conférences le français fut parlé:

- (a) en plusieurs occasions par le comte de Nassau, ambassadeur impérial,
- (b) dans une réunion entre ambassadeurs espagnols et impériaux (le 27 octobre 1643),
- (c) presque toujours par les ambassadeurs français.

<sup>51</sup> Lamberty, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (à la Haye, 1731), X, 50, 51.

Les ambassadeurs français se servirent du français comme langue écrite :

- (a) dans les propositions adressées aux médiateurs italiens, le 1<sup>er</sup> juin 1645,
- (b) pour leurs pleinspouvoirs, malgré le règlement des médiateurs qui exigeait l'emploi du latin,
- (c) dans les déclarations de paix présentées le 3 juin 1646, déclarations auxquelles ils refusèrent de joindre une traduction latine.

En somme, le français n'est employé que par occasion dans la conversation, rarement dans les documents écrits, et seulement dans des documents particuliers dressés et présentés par la France même.

Les traités des Pyrénées (1659) et de Nimègue (traité entre la France et l'Espagne, en 1678) sont tous deux dressés en français et en espagnol (un exemplaire français, un exemplaire espagnol) ; ce fait révèle l'usage qui existe dans les relations diplomatiques entre ces deux pays.

Le traité de Nimègue (entre la France et l'Empire) du 5 février 1679 est dressé en latin. On parla surtout français et latin pendant les conférences. Les propositions de la France et de la Hollande sont écrites en français, mais la Suède, le Danemark et l'Empire continuent à les présenter en latin. Cependant les pleinspouvoirs de tous les ambassadeurs sont dressés, par les médiateurs anglais, en français et en latin.

Dans les relations internationales entre la France et l'Angleterre, on se sert assez régulièrement du français, mais dès qu'il s'agit d'assemblées dont font partie la Suède, le Danemark, ou l'Empire, on revient au latin.

Les deux traités de Ryswick (1697) sont en latin. L'Empire insiste toujours pour que les documents écrits présentés pendant les négociations soient dressés en latin.

Le traité d'Utrecht franco-prussien (1713) est en latin ; le traité franco-anglais est dressé en deux langues, en français et en latin.



Le traité de Rastadt (1714) est en français. C'est la première fois que l'Empire traite en français avec la France.

Le traité de la Quadruple Alliance (1718) est rédigé en latin. Mais l'Angleterre y fait ajouter un article qui assure que cet usage ne tirera point à conséquence pour l'avenir. C'est la première fois, que je sache, que l'on ajoute une réserve de ce genre à un traité écrit en latin.

Nous ajouterons à ce résumé quelques-uns des traités qui contiennent des réserves du genre de celles que l'on trouve dans les traités de Rastadt (1714) et de la Quadruple Alliance (1718).

Le traité d'Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) est en français, mais avec une réserve spéciale qui ressemble fort à celle qu'on avait ajoutée pour le français au traité de Rastadt.

Il a été convenu et arrêté, que la langue française, employée dans tous les exemplaires du présent traité, ne formera point un exemple, qui puisse être allégué, ni tiré à conséquence, ni porter préjudice, en aucune manière, à aucune des puissances contractantes; et que l'on se conformera, à l'avenir, à ce qui a été observé, et doit être observé, à l'égard et de la part des puissances, qui sont en usage de donner et de recevoir des exemplaires de semblables traités et actes, en une autre langue que la française; le présent traité et les accessions qui interviendront, ne laissant pas d'avoir la même force et vertu, que si le susdit usage y avait été observé; . . .<sup>52</sup>

Une pareille réserve est insérée dans les traités de Paris (1763) et de Versailles (1783). L'acte général du Congrès de Vienne, au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1815), contient une réserve du même genre.

La langue française ayant été exclusivement employée dans toutes les copies du présent traité, il est reconnu par les puissances qui ont concouru à cet acte que l'emploi de cette langue ne tirera point à conséquence pour l'avenir; de sorte que chaque puissance se réserve d'adopter, dans les négociations et conventions futures la langue dont elle s'est servie jusqu'ici dans ses relations diplomatiques, sans que le traité actuel puisse être cité comme exemple contraire aux usages établis.<sup>53</sup>

Une réserve de ce genre fait encore partie du traité de 1827 entre le roi de Prusse et l'empereur du Brésil. Ce traité est dressé en français et en portugais. En voici l'article XIII :

<sup>52</sup> Duc de Broglie, *La paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle* (Paris, 1895), 328.

<sup>53</sup> Flissan, *Histoire du congrès de Vienne* (Paris, 1829), III, 94.

Les langues Portugaise et Française ayant été exclusivement employées dans la rédaction du présent traité, il est reconnu par les Hautes Puissances contractantes, que cet emploi exclusif des deux langues ne tirera point à conséquence pour l'avenir.<sup>54</sup>

Mais il n'y a pas de réserve dans la plupart des grands traités du dix-neuvième siècle, ni, chose étonnante, dans les traités entre la Prusse et l'Autriche du siècle précédent: traités de Breslau (1742), de Hubertsbourg (1763) et de Teschen (1779), qui sont tous dressés en français. Du traité de Breslau (1742), un auteur allemand a écrit:

Unter solchen Höfen aber, die sich allerseits der Teutschen Sprache bedienen, ware der Bresslauer Friede von 1742, zwischen Oesterreich und Preussen der erste, welcher Französisch abgefasst wurde.<sup>55</sup>

Voici l'histoire du développement du français dans les documents internationaux du XVII<sup>e</sup> et du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Au début, il n'a d'importance que comme langue parlée, mais peu à peu on s'en sert dans des documents de valeur particulière et nationale d'abord, et ensuite dans des documents de valeur plus générale. En 1714 on s'en sert dans un traité entre l'Empire et la France avec une réserve spéciale. En 1718 on signe un traité en latin qui contient une réserve indiquant que l'usage de cette langue dans ce traité-là ne devait point tirer à conséquence pour l'avenir dans les traités entre la France et l'Angleterre. Les grands traités internationaux qui suivent sont presque tous en français, toujours avec la réserve. Enfin on n'y insère plus cette réserve, et on finit par se servir de la langue française sans conditions ni stipulations.

<sup>54</sup> De Martens, *Supplément au recueil des traités* (Gottingue, 1830), XI, seconde partie, 474.

<sup>55</sup> Moser, *Der Teschenische FriedenSchluss* (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1779), 49.

## CHAPITRE III

## POURQUOI LE FRANÇAIS DEVINT-IL LA LANGUE INTERNATIONALE DE L'EUROPE ?

Il semblerait qu'au XV<sup>e</sup> et au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, les Espagnols aient aspiré à un rôle universel pour leur langue nationale. Un événement d'une certaine importance eut lieu à Rome le 17 avril 1536. L'empereur Charles V fit un discours en espagnol devant la cour pontificale, où se trouvaient réunis des prélats et les cardinaux du pape Paul III, ainsi que les ambassadeurs de France et de Venise. L'ambassadeur français, l'évêque de Mâcon, qui ne comprenait pas l'espagnol, pria l'empereur de se servir d'une langue plus connue. Voici la réponse :

Señor obispo, entiendame si quiere; y no espere de mi otras palabras que de mi lengua española, la qual es tan noble, que merece ser sabida y entendida de toda la gente christiana.<sup>1</sup>

L'ambassade d'obédience française, envoyée à Rome le 15 avril 1505, à l'occasion de l'élection du pape Jules II, n'avait pas si bien réussi quand elle avait tenté de présenter ses pouvoirs rédigés en français.

De son côté, l'ambassade de France avait senti le mauvais effet produit par son entrée; elle s'était fait suivre de gens ramassés un peu partout et habillés à la hâte. Malgré cette précaution, l'audience marcha assez mal: les pouvoirs étaient libellés en français, contrairement à la règle . . .<sup>2</sup>

Le pape en avait immédiatement fait lire une traduction latine.

L'espagnol s'était surtout répandu en Italie. Benedetto Croce nous donne un tableau de l'influence espagnole dans son pays au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, et nous explique la décadence de cette influence et du prestige de la langue espagnole au siècle suivant.

<sup>1</sup> Brantôme, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1864), VII, 72.

<sup>2</sup> Maulde-La-Clavière, *Histoire de Louis XII* (Paris, 1889-93), I, 2<sup>ème</sup> partie, 115.

Oltre che pel tramite generale della moda, la lingua spagnuola si diffondeva pel tramite politico; e se il castigliano in Sardegna e in Sicilia si sovrappose al più vecchio catalano, in Napoli quella lingua ebbe nuovo vigore, e spagnuolo parlavano viceré e governatori, che non sempre avevano l'agio d'imparare o d'imparar bene l'italiano.<sup>3</sup>

Ma la lingua spagnuola era assai sparsa in tutta Italia (come, del resto, in Francia e in Germania e in Inghilterra), e se per esempio, gli altri ambasciatori parlavano innanzi al senato veneziano per mezzo d'interpreti, quello di Spagna adoperava lo spagnuolo senza interprete. Il mondo si era fatto tutto popolo spagnuolo e perciò quella lingua era più di tutte necessaria a sapere.<sup>4</sup>

Pietro Bembo écrit :

Perciocchè poichè le Spagne a servire il pontefice a Roma i loro populi mandati aveano, e Valenza il colle Vaticano occupato avea, a'nostri uomini, e alle nostre donne oggimai altre voci, altri accenti avere in bocca non piaceva, che spagnuoli . . . e la cortigiana lingua, che si era oggimai cotanto inispagnuolita, . . .<sup>5</sup>

Vers le milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle l'influence espagnole avait bien diminué, et avec elle le prestige de la langue. Croce constate le fait, et en donne les raisons :

Ma anche la Spagna, che la [l'Italie] conquistava e faceva sentire la propria forza politica e guerriera in tutta Europa, se aveva dello stato moderno l'unità monarchica e le milizie, era per altro troppo medievale e feudale nella sua composizione sociale, e mancava soprattutto di quella preparazione e di quelle attitudini industriali e commerciali, indispensabili alla conservazione della potenza nei tempi moderni.<sup>6</sup>

L'Espagne avait atteint en Europe une situation politique qu'elle ne put garder. La langue espagnole perdit le prestige qu'elle avait acquis.

La Monarchie espagnole pouvait, ce semble, fixer le choix de l'Europe. Toute brillante de l'or de l'Amérique, puissante dans l'empire, maîtresse des Pays-Bas et d'une partie de l'Italie, les malheurs de François I<sup>er</sup> lui donnaient un nouveau lustre, et ses espérances s'accroissaient encore des troubles de la France et du mariage de Philippe II avec la reine d'Angleterre. Tant de grandeur ne fut qu'un éclair. Charles-Quint ne put laisser

<sup>3</sup> Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la rinascenza* (Bari, 1917), 151.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>5</sup> Bembo, *Della volgar latina*, [Classici Italiani] (Milano, 1810), LXIV, 56.

<sup>6</sup> Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la rinascenza* (Bari, 1917), 247.

à son fils la couronne impériale, et ce fils perdit la moitié des Pays-Bas. Bientôt l'expulsion des Maures, et les émigrations en Amérique, blessèrent l'Etat dans son principe, et ces deux grandes plaies ne tardèrent pas à paraître . . .<sup>7</sup>

La question de préséance dans les cours étrangères était des plus délicates, et l'événement qui eut lieu à Londres le 10 octobre 1661, nous montre que l'Espagne finissait par céder le pas à la France à l'étranger. A l'arrivée de l'ambassade suédoise à Londres, les ambassadeurs espagnols, aidés de brasseurs et de bateliers anglais, attaquèrent l'ambassade française afin de la disperser et ainsi se réserver la première place à la cérémonie. La cour de Madrid se hâta d'adresser des excuses aux représentants français. Je cite ici un alinéa de la harangue faite le 24 mars 1662 par le marquis de la Fuente au nom du roi d'Espagne :

. . . En outre, il m'a ordonné d'assurer Votre Majesté qu'il a envoyé ses ordres à tous ses ambassadeurs et ministres, tant en Angleterre comme en toutes les cours où résident et résideront lesdits ministres, et où se pourront présenter de pareilles difficultés pour raison des compétences, afin qu'ils s'abstiennent et ne concourent point avec les ambassadeurs et ministre de Votre Majesté en toutes les fonctions et cérémonies publiques . . .<sup>8</sup>

Quel rapport y a-t-il entre le prestige dont peut jouir une langue nationale, et l'influence politique du peuple qui la parle? Le français gagna-t-il de l'importance à cause de la situation politique avantageuse dans laquelle se trouvait la France sous Louis XIV? Meillet écrit :

Au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le sentiment vague de l'unité impériale, qui avait subsisté durant le moyen âge, disparaît définitivement. L'ère des monarchies nationales s'ouvre et avec elle l'ère des langues nationales. Le français prend au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle une avance, parce que, en face de l'Empire et de l'Italie infiniment divisés, il est la langue d'un grand Etat déjà bien unifié.<sup>9</sup>

L'empereur passe au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle pour le premier des princes chrétiens, et jouissait encore du droit honorifique de préséance.

<sup>7</sup> Rivarol, *De l'universalité de la langue française* (Paris, 1797), 6.

<sup>8</sup> Ms. Fr., 4248, Bibliothèque Nationale, cité dans les *Mémoires de Saint-Simon* (Paris, 1881), IV, 101.

<sup>9</sup> Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (Paris, 1918), 207.

Mais le roi de France le suit de près. Au concile de Latran à Rome, lorsqu'on parle des princes, on se contente de mentionner les noms de l'empereur et du roi de France.

Christianissimus in Christo filius noster, Maximilianus, in imperatorem electus, Julii papae II praedecessoris nostri, nostro vero tempore, clarissimae memoriae, Ludovicus Francorum, et caeteri reges et principes christiani . . . Lateranensi concilio adhaeserunt.<sup>10</sup>

Le chevalier Rutledge soutenait au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle que le prestige d'une langue dépendait entièrement de l'influence politique d'un peuple :

Lorsque la langue d'un peuple devient plus générale que celle d'un autre, nous n'en devons pas tant chercher la cause dans son excellence que dans les considérations politiques qui peuvent opérer cet effet. Quand une grande nation brille avec éclat et étend sa puissance par ses conquêtes et ses établissements, il est naturel que le monde en prenne connaissance, et il s'ensuit nécessairement que l'usage de la langue s'étende à proportion de la correspondance que ses acquisitions et la multiplicité des affaires forcent d'avoir avec elle . . .<sup>11</sup>

Ajoutons les idées de Martens à ce sujet :

En France la notion de l'unité nationale pénétra partout grâce surtout à la guerre de cent ans où le peuple français eut à défendre son indépendance politique contre les rois d'Angleterre. Cette lutte amena les Français à unir leurs forces, à chercher un point de ralliement dans l'unité du pouvoir national et à placer l'idéal de leur organisation politique dans une centralisation absolue. Aussi les rois de France, après une guerre opiniâtre faite à l'aristocratie féodale, purent fonder une puissance monarchique forte dont l'Europe n'offrait pas d'autre exemple. L'unité nationale, solidement établie, permit à la monarchie française de jouer le premier rôle pendant plus de trois siècles dans le domaine des relations internationales.<sup>12</sup>

Nous avons déjà examiné les événements les plus saillants des conférences internationales de l'époque qui nous intéresse. La langue française y a-t-elle joué un rôle plus important à l'époque des grandes victoires du règne de Louis XIV? Les ambassadeurs y ont-ils alors insisté pour faire usage de leur langue, et les traités que signait une France glorieuse ont-ils été

<sup>10</sup> Maulde-La-Clavière, *Histoire de Louis XII*, [Bulle de Léon X do mars 1516, note 3] (Paris, 1889-1893), I, 65.

<sup>11</sup> Cité par Baldensperger, *Études d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1907), I, 4.

<sup>12</sup> De Martens, *Traité de droit international* (Paris, 1883), I, 108.

dressés en français? On se souvient qu'à la conférence de Munster les ambassadeurs français et espagnols furent les seuls qui refusèrent de dresser leurs pleins-pouvoirs en latin. De plus, les ambassadeurs de France présentent leurs déclarations écrites en français. On en réclame une traduction latine. Ils refusent de se conformer à ce règlement. Même en 1648 les Français commençaient à s'opposer à la vieille tradition soutenue par l'empereur d'Allemagne. C'est que la France avait joué un beau rôle pendant la guerre de Trente Ans, et on n'oubliait pas si vite les victoires d'un Turenne et d'un Condé.

C'est vers l'époque où l'on signa le traité de Nimègue que la France avait atteint l'apogée de sa gloire politique et militaire. On parla français aux conférences, mais on y parla aussi latin. On se souvient que les impériaux s'opposèrent à ce que Croissy, qui s'excusait de son mauvais latin, leur adressât la parole en français. Il est vrai que les pleins-pouvoirs de tous les ambassadeurs furent dressés en français aussi bien qu'en latin, et que la France et la Hollande présentèrent leurs propositions en français (l'Espagne, en espagnol), mais les pièces les plus importantes, ainsi que le traité, furent toutes dressées en latin. On ne pouvait changer l'usage en un jour.

C'est à Rastadt que l'on traite pour la première fois en français avec l'Empire, et cependant c'était après une défaite française que l'on traitait. Mais n'oublions pas, c'était le hasard. Le prince Eugène était pressé. La traduction latine du projet français aurait pris du temps. On signa le traité écrit en français. Cela ne devait pas tirer à conséquence pour l'avenir. D'autres traités furent ensuite dressés en français, toujours avec la même réserve. Puis on ne l'y ajoute plus, et on finit par se servir du français, sans réserves et sans stipulations.

C'est à la diète de Francfort, en 1682, que la puissance politique de la France et l'arrogance qui en est le résultat se font le plus sentir. Les ambassadeurs de l'Empereur et du roi de France s'étaient réunis en conférence. Les Français, comme

à Munster et à Nimègue d'ailleurs, présentèrent leur mémoire rédigé en français. Les délégués impériaux protestèrent. Les ambassadeurs français avaient bien consenti à en soumettre une traduction, mais ils insistaient pour conserver le mot *Translatum* sur la version latine, mot que les Impériaux voulaient faire omettre. Les plaintes de part et d'autre furent portées au Directoire de Mayence. Les Français exposèrent nettement leur point de vue dans le mémoire du 20 juin 1682. On y sent un certain dédain pour l'Empire, mépris d'une nation qui se rend compte de sa puissance et de son prestige haussé par de récents succès militaires.

Il n'y a point de prince dans l'Europe qui ayt droit d'imposer aux autres la nécessité de se servir d'une certaine langue dans les conférences et assemblées qui se font entre souverains . . .

Pour les traittez et autres actes communs, ou toutes les parties doivent signer, il est raisonnable entr'egaux de convenir pour cela d'une langue commune, ou de faire plusieurs originaux (comme il se pratique entre la France et l'Espagne, il s'en fait un en François et l'autre en Espagnol). L'Empereur et l'Empire se servent de deux langues, de l'allemand entre eux pour toutes leurs affaires, et de la latine avec tous les étrangers, ils appellent cette langue le stile de l'Empire, et prétendant qu'ils sont aux droits de l'Empire romain, ils voudroient obliger tous les autres princes et estats-de ne se servir avec eux que de cette langue; ils nomment aussi leur Empire germanique, le St Empire romain, et leur Empereur Auguste et Majesté Cezarée; mais comme ils n'en ont pas la puissance ny la grandeur avecq ces beaux noms, on peut se dispenser d'avoir trop peu d'égard pour cette pretension . . .

Ils n'osent pas alléguer contre nous (comme ils font souvent contre les Italiens) leur prétendu droit de l'Empire romain, et ils allèguent seulement que c'est le stile de l'Empire, et l'usage de leurs diètes. Mais si c'est le stile de l'Empire de faire cette sorte d'écrits en latin, l'usage de la France est de les faire en François.<sup>13</sup>

#### Quel fut le résultat de cette affaire ?

Il fut résolu définitivement . . . qu'à l'égard de la langue, les ambassadeurs de France joindroient à leurs mémoires rédigés en langue française une traduction latine, ceux de l'Empire délivrant les leurs en allemand, aussi avec une traduction latine.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Aff. Etr., Allem., Corr. pol., 297 f<sup>os</sup> 223-224, cité par Brunot, *Histoire de la langue etc.*, V, 414, 415.

<sup>14</sup> Aff. Etr., Allem., *Mémoires et documents*, 38, f<sup>os</sup> 112, 113, cité par Brunot, *Histoire de la langue etc.*, V, 416.



Au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle on attribue le plus souvent le prestige et l'universalité de la langue française à la haute valeur littéraire des œuvres d'écrivains français. C'est l'explication la plus fréquente et la plus séduisante de l'époque.

Mais deux choses concourent à établir, étendre et fixer une langue. La première, que nous venons d'exposer, est le désir d'imiter la cour. La seconde, qui est encore plus puissante que la première, vient des bons ouvrages. Ce sont les auteurs distingués qui règlent le sort d'une langue, et qui la fixent autant qu'une langue vivante peut être fixée.<sup>15</sup>

L'excellent goût de leur littérature leur soumet tous les esprits qui en ont, et dans la guerre si malheureuse dont ils [les Français] sortent, j'ai vu leurs auteurs et leurs philosophes soutenir la gloire du nom français ternie par leurs guerriers.<sup>16</sup>

Il me semble que les ouvrages français faits sous le siècle de Louis XIV, tant en prose qu'en vers, ont contribué autant qu'aucun autre événement, à donner à la langue dans laquelle ils sont écrits, un si grand cours, qu'elle partage avec la langue latine, la gloire d'être cette langue que les nations apprennent par une convention tacite pour se pouvoir entendre. Les jeunes gens auxquels on donne en Europe de l'éducation, connoissent autant Despreaux, la Fontaine et Molière, qu'Horace, Phèdre et Térence.<sup>17</sup>

Pourquoi notre langue a-t-elle passé dans presque toutes les cours de l'Europe? L'attribuerons-nous aux conquêtes de Louis XIV? . . . Non, messieurs; c'est la raison qui a fait cet honneur à la notre; c'est le plaisir de nous lire, de penser et de sentir comme nous, qui les a gagnés; c'est ce génie, c'est cet ordre, c'est ce sublime, ce sont ces grâces, ces lumières, répandus dans vos ouvrages, ou dans ceux de nos écrivains que vous avez inspirés, qui ont acquis cette espèce de triomphe à la langue française.<sup>18</sup>

Si le peuple a formé les langues, les grands hommes les perfectionnent par les bons livres; et la première de toutes les langues est celle qui a le plus d'excellents ouvrages.<sup>19</sup>

J'ajouterai quelques témoignages d'auteurs étrangers. Algarotti soutient que le français est devenu langue universelle

<sup>15</sup> Ducloux, *Mémoire sur l'origine et les révolutions de la langue française*, dans *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1806), IX, 247.

<sup>16</sup> Rousseau, *Les Confessions* (Paris, 1912), I, 261, 262.

<sup>17</sup> Diderot, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* (Lausanne et Berne, 1782), XIX, 578.

<sup>18</sup> Marivaux, *Discours prononcé à l'Académie française* [le 4 févr. 1743] (Paris, 1830), 542.

<sup>19</sup> Voltaire, *Lettre à Tavazzi* [le 24 juin 1761], dans *Correspondance générale* (Paris, 1825), LXI, 469.

. . . non à cause des qualités particulières, ou du mérite intrinsèque de cette langue, comme les savants de cette nation en tombent eux-mêmes d'accord; mais parce que de tout temps on a écrit en français des choses agréables et à la portée de tout le monde.<sup>20</sup>

Frédéric le Grand, un des admirateurs les plus dévoués de la langue française, écrit :

Sous le règne de Louis XIV le français se répandit dans toute l'Europe, et cela en partie pour l'amour des bons auteurs qui florissoient alors, même pour les bonnes traductions des anciens qu'on y trouveit.<sup>21</sup>

Il ne faut pas oublier l'importance de l'œuvre du Suisse Vattel, auteur du *Droit des Gens*. Cette œuvre capitale en droit international parut en 1758. Elle était écrite en français. Le prédécesseur de Vattel, Grotius, s'était servi du latin. Les idées de Vattel ne tardèrent pas à se propager par toute l'Europe. La langue ne pouvait que profiter du bon accueil que l'on fit aux idées qu'elle exprimait.

Il y a une troisième raison avancée par les contemporains ainsi que par les générations qui suivent. Le français était au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle la langue sociale par excellence, et on se plaît à faire ressortir son influence comme langue des cours à l'étranger, ainsi que l'attrait qu'avait Paris pour tous les princes des nations européennes.

Gutierrez de Los Rios disait vers la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle :

Quant au français, il convient de le savoir *en perfection*, tant à cause des livres excellents écrits dans cet idiome que parce qu'il se trouverait difficilement une capitale de monarchie ou de république où le français ne se parlât, sinon mieux, au moins aussi bien que la langue indigène.<sup>22</sup>

Christian Thomasius prétendait qu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle la langue française, ainsi que les coutumes françaises, s'était répandue par toute l'Allemagne.

Frantzösische Kleider, Frantzösische Speisen, Frantzösischer Hausrath, Frantzösische Sprachen [sic], Frantzösische Kranckheiten sind durchgehends im Schwange.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Algarotti, *Œuvres* (Berlin, 1772), V, 414.

<sup>21</sup> Friedrich der Grosse, *De la littérature allemande*, dans *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. u. 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1902), 16.

<sup>22</sup> Morel-Fatio, *Études sur l'Espagne* (Paris, 1890), 2<sup>ème</sup> série, II, 18, 19.

<sup>23</sup> Thomasius, *Von Nachahmung der Franzosen*, dans *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. u. 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1894), 51-65, 3.

## Leibniz écrivait vers 1680:

Aber nach dem Münsterschen und Pyrenäischen Frieden hat so wohl die Frantzösische Macht als Sprache bey uns überhand genommen. Man hat Frankreich gleichsam zum Munster aller Zierlichkeit aufgeworffen, und unsere junge Leute, auch wohl junge Herren selbst, so ihre eigene Heimath nicht gekennet, und deswegen alles bey den Frantzosen bewundert; haben ihr Vaterland nicht nur bey den Fremden in Verachtung gesetzt, sondern auch selbst verachten helfen, und einen Eckel der Teutschen Sprach und Sitten aus Ohnerfahrenheit angenommen, der auch an ihnen bey zuwachsenden Jahren und Verstand behencken blieben; . . .<sup>24</sup>

## L'abbé Leblanc écrivait vers 1745:

Pourquoi le français est-il aujourd'hui si commun dans toutes les cours de l'Europe? Pourquoi à celle de Londres le parle-t-on aussi familièrement que l'anglais ou l'allemand, si ce n'est parce que nous donnons le ton à nos voisins pour toutes les choses qui sont du ressort de l'agrément et des grâces?<sup>25</sup>

## On lit dans le Dictionnaire Encyclopédique:

Si quelqu'autre langue que la latine devient jamais l'idiome commun des savans de l'Europe, la langue françoise doit avoir l'honneur de cette préférence: elle a déjà les suffrages de toutes les cours où on la parle presque comme à Versailles; . . .<sup>26</sup>

Dans une critique d'un livre sur le génie de la langue française Bayle nous dit:

Cette sorte de travaux produit en même temps deux effets; l'un qu'elle justifie l'attachement qui règne dans toute l'Europe pour la Langue Françoise; l'autre qu'elle facilite le dessein que l'on a par tout d'apprendre à bien s'exprimer en François.<sup>27</sup>

L'historien anglais, Edward Gibbon, venait de composer un essai historique sur la liberté des Suisses, essai écrit en français. Hume lui reprocha de s'être servi d'une langue étrangère. Je cite un passage d'une lettre du 24 octobre 1767 que Gibbon reçut de lui.

<sup>24</sup> Leibniz, *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken dans Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Cultur-geschichte der germanischen Völker* (Straßburg, 1877), XXIII, 53, 54.

<sup>25</sup> Baldensperger, *Études d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1907), I, 31.

<sup>26</sup> Diderot, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* (Lausanne et Berne, 1782), XIX, 576.

<sup>27</sup> Bayle, *Œuvres* (à la Haye, 1727), I, 296, 297.

I have only one objection, derived from the language in which it is written. Why do you compose in French, and carry faggots into the wood, as Horace says with regard to Romans who wrote in Greek? I grant that you have a like motive to those Romans, and adopt a language much more generally diffused than your native tongue. . . .<sup>28</sup>

Gibbon lui-même écrit :

My ancient habits, and the presence of Deyverdun, encouraged me to write in French for the continent of Europe; . . .<sup>29</sup>

Frédéric le Grand, qui se servait de préférence du français, écrivait en 1780 au sujet de l'étendue de cette langue :

Et maintenant cette langue est devenuë un passe-partout qui vous introduit dans toutes les maisons et dans toutes les villes. Voyagez de Lisbonne à Petersbourg, et de Stockholm à Naples en parlant le françois, vous vous faites entendre partout. Par ce seul Idiome, vous vous épargnez quantité de langues qu'il vous faudroit savoir, qui surchargeroient votre mémoire de mots, à la place desquels vous pouvez la remplir de choses, ce qui est bien préférable.<sup>30</sup>

Montesquieu écrivait de son séjour à Vienne en 1728 :

Je suis assez content du séjour de Vienne: les connoissances y sont très-aisées à faire, les grands seigneurs et les ministres très-accessibles; . . . notre langue y est si universelle qu'elle y est presque la seule chez les honnêtes gens, et l'italien y est presque inutile. Je suis persuadé que le françois gagnera tous les jours dans les pays étrangers. La communication des peuples y est si grande qu'ils ont absolument besoin d'une langue commune, et on choisira toujours notre françois.<sup>31</sup>

Il est intéressant de constater que très souvent on semble avoir attribué aux conséquences de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes la diffusion de la culture et de la langue française à l'étranger.

La proscription religieuse, de son côté, et la place faite au Refuge en Hollande, dans plusieurs pays d'Allemagne et à Londres dans quelque mesure, donnèrent à une minorité persécutée un rôle qui en fit l'alliée, quoi qu'elle en eût, du pouvoir qui l'avait contrainte à l'exil.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Gibbon, *Miscellaneous Works* (Dublin, 1796), I, 133, 134.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 134-136.

<sup>30</sup> *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. u. 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1883), IX-XVI, 37, 38.

<sup>31</sup> Montesquieu, *Lettre à M. l'abbé d'Olivet* [le 10 mai 1728], dans *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1879), VII, 220, 221.

<sup>32</sup> Baldensperger, *Études d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1907), I, 46.

Depuis Louis XIV, la langue française était devenue, grâce aux chefs-d'œuvre de sa littérature, et peut-être aussi par l'effet de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, qui a répandu dans tous les pays de l'Europe une multitude de réfugiés français, comme un idiome universel et la langue officielle des cours et cabinets, elle a remplacé le latin dans les négociations diplomatiques et dans la rédaction des traités.<sup>33</sup>

Vous devez surtout ce triomphe de votre langue dans les pays étrangers, à cette foule d'émigrants qui furent obligés de quitter leur patrie vers l'an 1665. Les Bayle, les Leclerc, les Basnage, les Bernard, les Rapin-Thoyras, les Beausobre, les Lenfant, et tant d'autres, allèrent illustrer la Hollande et l'Allemagne; . . . Ce sont les malheurs de vos compatriotes qui ont étendu votre langue chez tant de nations.<sup>34</sup>

Le français s'était répandu en Allemagne vers la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est surtout l'aristocratie, les princes des petits états allemands, qui en encouragent l'usage. Je cite Herder.

Als endlich die Sonne des Französischen Hofes in ihrem Mittage strahlte, als die Sprache, die Sitten, die Verhandlungen desselben fast allenthalben in Europa den Ton angeben wollten; wer ist insonderheit seit dem Westphälischen Frieden, dadurch mehr zu kurz gekommen, als Deutschland? Jeder kleine Hof sollte ein Versailles, jede adliche Gesellschaft ein Cirkel Französischer *Ducs et Marquis, Princesses et Comtesses* werden. In Erziehung, Sitten, Sprache, Lebenszweck und Lebensführung trenneten sich die Stände.<sup>35</sup>

Et il ajoute plus loin :

In Deutschland giebt's grosse und kleine Höfe, diese in einer großen Anzahl, von jenen acht oder neun. Beide haben hiebei auf verschiedene Art mitgewirket. Die kleinen *Souverains*, Prinzen, Grafen, Barons, setzen eine Ehre darinn, wie Personen von niederm Range zu reisen, ja mehr als diese gereiset zu seyn. Fast alle gehen nach Frankreich, fast alle bringen ganze Jahre zu Paris oder am Hofe zu, mit einem ansehnlichen Gefolge. Werden sie nicht ihren dort angenommenen Geschmack in ihre Residenzen, d. i. in hundert und hundert Orte in Deutschland mitnehmen? Diesen theilen sie sodann zuerst ihren kleinen Höfen und Unterthanen durch den Einfluß mit, den jeder Souverain, groß oder klein, über die Geister derer hat, die in seiner Dependenz sind.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Pradier-Fodéré, *Cours de droit diplomatique* (Paris, 1899), II, 456.

<sup>34</sup> Voltaire, *Discours aux Welches*, dans *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1836), VIII, 643, 644.

<sup>35</sup> Herder, *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität* (Riga, 1797), 25, 26.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

Les petits états sous l'influence de la politique française étaient plus rattachés à la France qu'à aucun autre pays. Cette influence de la culture française devait continuer pendant tout le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et atteindre son apogée sous Frédéric le Grand qui se faisait une gloire de cultiver la langue française, et dont la correspondance politique est écrite dans cette langue.

L'Académie royale de Prusse fut renouvelée le 23 janvier 1744. Ce fut un Français, Maupertuis, que Frédéric choisit président de cette société. C'est aussi sous l'influence de Frédéric que la langue française y remplaça la langue latine qui avait été employée jusqu'ici pour la rédaction des mémoires. Samuel Formey, réfugié d'origine française et historiographe de la nouvelle Académie, écrivait :

On a substitué le français au latin pour rendre l'usage de ces Mémoires plus étendu ; car les limites du pays latin se resserrent à vue d'œil, au lieu que la langue française est à peu près aujourd'hui dans le cas où était la langue grecque du temps de Cicéron : on l'apprend partout, on recherche avec empressement les livres écrits en français, on traduit en cette langue tous les bons ouvrages que l'Allemagne ou l'Angleterre produisent.<sup>87</sup>

Voltaire, qui savait peu l'allemand, ne se trouve nullement gêné pendant son séjour en Allemagne. Il écrit de Potsdam le 24 octobre 1750 :

Je me trouve ici en France. On ne parle que notre langue. . . . En qualité de bon patriote, je suis un peu flatté de voir ce petit hommage qu'on rend à notre patrie, à trois cents lieues de Paris.<sup>88</sup>

Et deux mois plus tôt il écrivait de Berlin :

La langue qu'on parle le moins à la cour, c'est l'allemand. Je n'en ai pas encore entendu prononcer un mot. Notre langue et nos belles-lettres ont fait plus de conquêtes que Charlemagne.<sup>89</sup>

Goethe avait appris l'anglais, le français et le latin. Il dit de la langue française :

<sup>87</sup> Bartholmess, *Histoire philosophique de l'Académie de Prusse* (Paris, 1850), I, 173.

<sup>88</sup> Voltaire, *Lettre au marquis de Thibouville*, dans *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1880), XXXVII, 190.

<sup>89</sup> Voltaire, *Lettre à madame Denis* [le 24 août, 1750], dans *Œuvres complètes*, XXXVII, 160, 161.

Die französische Sprache war mir von Jugend auf lieb; ich hatte sie in einem bewegteren Leben, und ein bewegteres Leben durch sie kennen gelernt. Sie war mir ohne Grammatik und Unterricht, durch Umgang und Übung, wie eine zweite Muttersprache zu eigen geworden.<sup>40</sup>

Il ajoute que l'œuvre de Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, avait été traduite en français et était devenue ainsi plus connue.

La Hollande fut un des principaux lieux de refuge des exilés protestants. Les ambassadeurs hollandais se servaient du français dans les relations internationales vers la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Je ne répéterai pas ce qui a déjà été dit au sujet de l'Angleterre. Les rapports entre les deux pays devinrent de plus en plus étroits au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Bien des écrivains anglais séjournèrent à Paris. Il faut avouer que leurs impressions ne sont pas toujours très flatteuses pour la France. On lit dans les œuvres de Addison :

I believe it is impossible for a learner of a language to find in any nation such advantages as this, where everybody is so very courteous and so very talkative. They always take care to make a noise so long as they are in company, and are as loud, any hour of the morning, as our own countrymen at midnight. Their language is, indeed, extremely proper to tattle in, it is made up of so much repetition and compliment.<sup>41</sup>

Les Anglais souffraient surtout de leur manque de facilité à s'exprimer couramment dans la langue du pays.

Without affecting to lower myself, the disadvantage of speaking a language worse than any idiot one meets, is insurmountable: the silliest Frenchman is eloquent to me, and leaves me embarrassed and obscure.<sup>42</sup>

My arrival at Paris was at first no less uncomfortable, where I could not see a face nor hear a word that I ever met with before; so that my most agreeable companions have been statues and pictures, which are many of them very extraordinary, but what particularly recommends them to me is, that they do not speak French, and have a very good quality, rarely to be met with in this country, of not being too talkative.<sup>43</sup>

En Suède, l'influence du français date du règne de Charles XII. Ce roi rendait hommage à la littérature française, mais refusait de se servir d'une autre langue que de la sienne dans ses

<sup>40</sup> Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, dans *Werke* (Weimar, 1890), I, 50, 51.

<sup>41</sup> Addison, *Works* (London, 1721), IV, 159.

<sup>42</sup> Walpole, *Letters* (Oxford, 1904), VI, 306.

<sup>43</sup> Addison, *Works* (London, 1721), IV, 149.

conférences avec les ambassadeurs étrangers. L'influence française est plus importante sous Gustave III, admirateur des œuvres françaises, qui s'était épris de la société française dès son séjour à Paris en 1771. Des troupes de comédiens français s'étaient installées à Stockholm, et y jouaient avec succès les pièces de Molière et de Racine.

En Russie, le goût de la culture française fut encouragé par Pierre le Grand, mais c'est surtout pendant le règne de Catherine II que l'influence française prend des proportions considérables. Bayle et Montesquieu, et plus tard Voltaire, eurent tous leur vogue en Russie. Vers le milieu du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le français était à Saint-Pétersbourg la langue de liaison entre les colonies européennes.

Pétersbourg étant habité par des colonies de différentes nations, rien n'est plus composé que les mœurs et les usages de ses habitants. On ne sait en général quel ton ni quelle mode y dominant. La langue française est celle qui sert de liaison entre les différents peuples, mais on y parle également bien plusieurs.<sup>44</sup>

L'Académie de Saint-Pétersbourg, fondée par Catherine I<sup>re</sup> vers 1720, rédigeait ses actes en latin. Sous Catherine II, la langue française y fut admise à côté du latin, et à partir de 1776 la plupart des mémoires furent publiés en français.

Quant à l'Italie, l'influence française a été assez puissante pour inciter le diplomate Caraccioli et l'écrivain Goldoni à se servir parfois du français dans leurs œuvres. Cependant Goldoni n'apprit le français que sur le tard, et ne s'en sert qu'avec hésitation. Ses *Mémoires* sont écrits en français.

Pourquoi le français devint-il la langue diplomatique de l'Europe? Trois causes ont été avancées: la puissance politique de la France pendant le règne de Louis XIV, la gloire de sa littérature pendant la période classique, et l'influence acquise à l'étranger par le français, langue sociale.

Le latin, pour diverses raisons discutées dans le premier chapitre, cessa d'être employé comme langue parlée dans les conférences, puis comme langue écrite dans les documents par-

<sup>44</sup> Masson, *Mémoires secrets sur la Russie pendant les règnes de Catherine II et de Paul I<sup>er</sup>* (Paris, 1862), 92.



ticuliers et nationaux, et enfin comme langue écrite dans les documents définitifs. En somme, qui tenait tant à l'usage du latin? Ce sont les ambassadeurs danois et impériaux qui s'opposent à Nimègue à l'usage du français. Dès que le latin devient peu commode comme langue des discours, et au fur et à mesure que se développent ces pays du nord, qui avaient favorisé l'usage du latin, leurs langues nationales prennent de l'importance, et le latin commence à perdre son prestige. C'est une langue nationale qui le remplacera.

Le traité de Rastadt de 1714, entre la France et l'Empire, fut dressé en français. Il y eut d'autres traités, pourtant, depuis le règne de Louis XIV, qui furent dressés en latin. Ce n'est que vers le milieu du siècle que le français commença à être assez régulièrement employé comme langue internationale, c'est-à-dire après l'apogée de la gloire politique de la France.

Pendant cette époque de prépondérance militaire et politique, la France avait occupé la première place dans les relations internationales, et ce sont ses envoyés qui brillent à l'étranger. En somme, le latin est le seul concurrent qu'elle puisse craindre, mais les pays qui insistaient pour continuer l'usage traditionnel ont été éclipsés au point de vue politique et militaire par la nation française.

La France se faisait un renom à cette époque dans le domaine littéraire, mais cette influence dans la littérature n'aurait peut-être pas eu tant d'éclat si la prépondérance politique n'avait pas déjà frayé le chemin à toute autre relation internationale.

A l'influence politique et littéraire s'ajoute l'influence de la langue française dans les cours étrangères. Elle s'y propage, et est parlée par les mêmes peuples qui un siècle auparavant insistaient pour se servir du latin. Elle devient nécessaire aux diplomates qui fréquentent ces cours, et de là il n'y avait qu'un pas à faire. L'usage choisit le français comme langue internationale; je dis l'usage, car il n'y eut jamais de document écrit qui obligeât les puissances à se servir du français plutôt que d'une autre langue dans les relations diplomatiques.

## CHAPITRE IV

QUALITÉS PARTICULIÈRES ATTRIBUÉES A LA  
LANGUE FRANÇAISE ET REFUSÉES  
AUX AUTRES LANGUES

Il y a une quatrième raison qui a été souvent avancée comme explication de l'importance de la langue française, surtout par les Français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, raison que je me suis proposé de discuter dans ce chapitre. Il s'agit des qualités particulières qu'on attribue au français et qui auraient pu tenter les diplomates à s'en servir plutôt que d'aucune autre langue dans les documents de portée internationale. Jusqu'ici nous n'avons discuté que les conditions extérieures, le prestige que la langue acquit à cause de la prépondérance politique et littéraire de la France à une certaine époque. Mais le français possède-t-il certains traits particuliers qui le rendent plus propre à être employé comme langue diplomatique qu'aucune autre langue?

J'ai recueilli quelques remarques qui ont été faites sur la langue française à une époque bien antérieure à celle que nous traitons. Je rappelle d'abord les paroles de Brunetto Latini dans la préface du *Livres dou Tresor*.

Et se aucuns demandoit por quoi cist livres est escriz en romans, selonc le langage des Francois, puisque nos sommes Ytaliens, je diroie que ce est por .ij. raisons: l'une, car nos sommes en France; et l'autre porce que la parleure est plus delitable et plus commune à toutes gens.<sup>1</sup>

On a attribué les vers suivants à Henri I<sup>er</sup>, fils de Guillaume le Conquérant:

Seiez debonere et corteis;  
Sachez aussi parler francois,  
Quar molt est langage alosé,  
De gentilhome est molt amé.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Latini, *Li livres dou tresor* (Paris, 1863), x.

<sup>2</sup> Abbé de la Rue, *Bardes, jongleurs et trovères normands et anglo-normands*, II, 37-38, cité par P. Chabaille dans l'Introduction du *Livres dou Tresor* de B. Latini.

### On lit dans un traité composé en 1396:

Doux français est la plus belle et plus gracieuse langue et plus noble parler, après latin d'école, qui soit au monde et de toutes gens mieux prisee et aimée que nulle autre . . . Et elle se peut bien comparer au parler des anges du ciel pour la grande douceur et beauté d'icelle.<sup>3</sup>

### Voici quelques lignes tirées de Brantôme:

Aussi l'empereur Charles V le [l'espagnol] disoit fort brave, superbe et de soldat, comme il tenoit l'italien pour le courtisan et l'amoureux; et le français le reservoit pour les roys, les princes et les grands.<sup>4</sup>

Henri Estienne dans son œuvre, *La Précellence du langage françois* (1579), parle de la grâce et de la gravité de la langue française.

Après avoir opposé des rymes Françaises aux rymes Italiennes, pour faire comparaison des unes avec les autres, je feray le mesme en la prose: pour monstrier que nostre langue n'est pas moins propre, et n'ha point moins et de gravité et de grace en cest endroit, qu'en cestuy-la:<sup>5</sup>

François Charpentier fait des éloges de l'harmonie du français.

Pourquoy veut-on que je croye qu'il y a moins d'harmonie dans nostre langue que dans la Latine, puisque celle-cy ne peut avoir eu d'autres effets que de plaire aux oreilles, et que les nostres sont tous les jours charmées du son et de l'arrangement de nos paroles!<sup>6</sup>

Ces remarques sont personnelles et subjectives, et n'ont de valeur que parce qu'elles nous présentent le point de vue de certains étrangers et l'opinion courante d'une certaine époque.

Les premières remarques faites au sujet de la clarté, de l'ordre et de la précision, datent du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est la période classique d'uniformité, période pendant laquelle, en littérature, on s'efforce de fixer les genres et d'établir pour tout des règles générales. Cette tendance du siècle a son effet sur les grammairiens de l'époque. Les salons littéraires, l'Académie,

<sup>3</sup> *La Manière de Langage*, composé en 1396, à Bury Saint-Edmond, p.p. P. Meyer, *Revue Critique*, X, 373, et s.

<sup>4</sup> Brantôme, *Dédicace*, dans *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1864), I, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Estienne, *De la précellence du langage françois* (Paris, 1896), 57.

<sup>6</sup> Charpentier, *De l'excellence de la langue française* (Paris, 1683), I, 467-469.

les puristes, s'imposent la tâche de purifier la langue. Ils se proposaient de l'alléger de mots dialectaux et populaires, d'éclaircir le sens des mots qu'ils acceptaient et de fixer leurs significations. C'était une rude tâche qu'ils avaient entreprise. Que pouvaient quelques lettrés contre la foule? Comptaient-ils arrêter le développement naturel de la langue, en faire une langue morte, c'est-à-dire une langue fixée dont les emprunts seraient rares et choisis et les transformations peu fréquentes? Leurs efforts, tout bien intentionnés qu'ils l'étaient, eurent en somme de bien médiocres résultats, et les contraintes qu'ils imposèrent à la langue ne l'empêchèrent pas de continuer un développement naturel.

Cependant, ce souci de perfectionner, de façonner la langue, mit à la mode l'idée qui se propage vers la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et pendant les siècles suivants, l'idée que le français est la plus claire et la plus précise des langues modernes.

Au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle on ne parle que d'ordre et de clarté. Balzac écrit en 1652:

Pour produire un ouvrage régulier, il falloit desbrouiller la masse et partager la matière, sçavoir soustraire et diminuer. Il falloit d'une période en faire plusieurs, et songer plus à l'ordre qu'à l'abondance. Nous aurions besoin de cette hache fameuse dont parlent les Grecs, qui tranchoit les superfluités du stile.<sup>7</sup>

Il a prononcé ce jugement sur Ronsard:

C'est une grande source, il le faut avouer, mais c'est une source trouble et boueuse . . . Du naturel, de l'imagination, de la facilité tant qu'on veut, mais peu d'ordre, peu d'économie, point de choix, soit pour les paroles, soit pour les choses.<sup>8</sup>

La Bruyère dit dans ses *Caractères*:

Entre toutes les différentes expressions qui peuvent rendre une seule de nos pensées, il n'y en a qu'une qui soit la bonne.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Balzac, *Socrate chrétien* [Discours X], (Paris, 1665), II, 245.

<sup>8</sup> Balzac, *Entretien XXXI*, cité par Vial et Denise, *Idées et doctrines littéraires du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1920), 85.

<sup>9</sup> La Bruyère, *Les Caractères*, dans *Œuvres* (Paris, 1865), I, 118.

Ajoutons les remarques de Vaugelas (1647) :

Il faut toujours se ressouvenir que notre langue aime grandement les répétitions des mots, lesquelles contribuent beaucoup à la clarté du langage, que la langue françoise affecte sur toutes les langues du monde.<sup>10</sup>

Une des premières choses qu'il faut observer pour bien escrire c'est d'avoir la construction nette.<sup>11</sup>

L'arrangement des mots est un des plus grands secrets du stile; qui n'a cela, ne peut pas dire qu'il sçache escrire. Il a beau employer de belles phrases et de beaux mots, estant mal placez ils ne sçauroient avoir ny beauté ny grace, outre qu'ils embarrassent l'expression et luy ostent la clarté, qui est le principal.<sup>12</sup>

Au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle les remarques de ce genre abondent. En voici quelques-unes :

*Fénelon* : L'ordre est ce qu'il y a de plus rare dans les opérations de l'esprit: quand l'ordre, la justesse, la force et la véhémence se trouvent réunis, le discours est parfait. Mais il faut avoir tout vu, tout pénétré et tout embrassé pour savoir la place précise de chaque mot.<sup>13</sup>

*Voltaire* : Le génie de notre langue est la clarté et l'élégance; nous ne permettons nulle licence à notre poésie, qui doit marcher, comme notre prose, dans l'ordre précis de nos idées.<sup>14</sup>

*La Chaussée* :

La vraie expression

Ne va jamais sans la précision.

L'unique objet que notre art se propose

Est d'être encor plus précis que la prose.<sup>15</sup>

*Dalembert* : La pureté du style, la clarté et la précision sont les seules qualités qui puissent être communes à tous les articles de l'Encyclopédie, et nous espérons qu'on les y remarquera.<sup>16</sup>

*Buffon* : Pour bien écrire, il faut donc posséder pleinement son sujet; il faut y réfléchir assez pour voir clairement l'ordre de ses pensées, et en former une suite, une chaîne continue, dont chaque point représente une

<sup>10</sup> Vaugelas, *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (Paris, 1880), II, 435.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 435.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>13</sup> Fénelon, *Lettre sur les occupations de l'Académie* [1716], dans *Œuvres* (Paris, 1890), II, 319.

<sup>14</sup> Voltaire, Préface à l'édition d'*Œdipe* de 1730, dans *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1877), II, 56.

<sup>15</sup> La Chaussée, *Épître de Cléo* [1734], cité par Vial et Denise, *Idées et doctrines littéraires du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1920), 158.

<sup>16</sup> Dalembert, *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie* [1751], (Paris, 1919), 136.

idée; et, lorsqu'on aura pris la plume, il faudra la conduire successivement sur ce premier trait, sans lui permettre de s'en écarter, sans l'appuyer trop inégalement, sans lui donner d'autre mouvement que celui qui sera déterminé par l'espace qu'elle doit parcourir. C'est en cela que consiste la sévérité du style; c'est aussi ce qui en fera l'unité et ce qui en règlera la rapidité, et cela seul aussi suffira pour le rendre précis et simple, égal et clair, vif et suivi.<sup>17</sup>

*Marmontel*: On voit par là rentrer dans l'idée du beau celle de régularité, d'ordre, de symétrie, d'unité, . . .<sup>18</sup>

On lit dans l'Encyclopédie:

La clarté, l'ordre, la justesse, la pureté des termes, distinguent le français des autres langues, et y répandent un agrément qui plaît à tous les peuples.<sup>19</sup>

En 1783 Rivarol présente à l'Académie de Berlin son discours sur l'universalité de la langue française. Nous voyons l'idée de la clarté de la langue y tenir une place d'une certaine importance.

Mais la langue française ayant la clarté par excellence, a dû chercher toute son élégance et sa force dans l'ordre direct; l'ordre et la clarté ont dû surtout dominer dans la prose, et la prose a dû lui donner l'empire. Cette marche est dans la nature: rien n'est en effet comparable à la prose française . . .<sup>20</sup>

Sainte-Beuve continue à propager cette idée de la clarté et de la précision de la langue:

Le français est, selon moi, la langue la plus ingrate, la plus sourde, la plus pauvre, la moins souple, mais de toutes la plus soignée; semblable aux femmes françaises qui, moins belles comme race qu'aucune autre race européenne, sont de toutes les femmes les plus habiles à se faire valoir par les grâces, l'esprit et le tact si rare de toutes les convenances du lieu et du moment.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Buffon, *Discours prononcé à l'Académie française* [1753], dans *Œuvres* (Paris, 1859), I, 23.

<sup>18</sup> Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, Article *Beau* (Lausanne, 1781), IV, 633.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 578.

<sup>20</sup> Rivarol, *Discours sur l'universalité de la langue française* (Paris, 1797), 34.

<sup>21</sup> Sainte-Beuve, *Lettre à mademoiselle de Klustine* [1829], dans *Causeries du Lundi* (Paris, édit. Garnier), XIV, 467, note 1.

## Un étranger écrit vers le milieu du siècle :

Pero con el trascurso del tiempo, la precision que fué adquiriendo la lengua francesa . . . su construccion eminentemente lógica, y su portentosa generalizacion en el mundo entero, hicieron de ella la lengua oficial y diplomática.<sup>22</sup>

Et enfin je cite les jugements de quelques écrivains d'une époque toute récente :

*Bonfls* : Puis, ses qualités [de la langue française] indiscutables de précision, de netteté, de clarté, la firent adopter dans les négociations diplomatiques et dans les traités.<sup>23</sup>

*Jacques Novicow* : C'est peut-être à sa raideur d'acier que le français doit le privilège d'être une des langues les plus claires et les plus limpides de l'Europe. Or, cette qualité lui assure de très grandes chances de triompher sur les idiomes rivaux.<sup>24</sup>

*Albert Dauzat* : Il est certain que notre langue a des qualités particulières de clarté et de précision : les étrangers eux-mêmes le reconnaissent.<sup>25</sup>

*L. Reynaud* : Partout le génie clair et systématique de la France met de l'ordre, trace, au milieu de l'arbitraire et des contradictions légués par le passé, les avenues droites et majestueuses de sa logique souveraine.<sup>26</sup>

*A. L. Guérard* : French culture has always laid the chief stress upon the social rather than upon the individual elements—upon honour rather than conscience, upon technique rather than inspiration, upon lucidity rather than depth, upon logic rather than passion. So it was given to the French to be, not the pioneers, but the organizers, of European culture.<sup>27</sup>

Il serait intéressant de savoir si ceux qui furent les premiers à parler de la clarté de la langue française en connaissaient d'autres. Je ne parle que des langues modernes. Il n'est pas facile de savoir quelles langues étaient connues de certains écrivains, ni à quel point elles étaient connues. La Bruyère savait assez l'allemand pour faire une traduction française d'une œuvre en cette langue. Il écrit au prince de Condé :

<sup>22</sup> Albertini, *Derecho diplomático* (Paris, 1866), 128.

<sup>23</sup> Bonfls, *Manuel de droit international public* (Paris, 1914), 555.

<sup>24</sup> Novicow, *L'expansion de la nationalité française* (Paris, 1903), 67.

<sup>25</sup> Dauzat, *La défense de la langue française* (Paris, 1912), 267.

<sup>26</sup> Reynaud, *L'influence française en Allemagne* (Paris, 1915), 177.

<sup>27</sup> Guérard, *A short history of the international language movement* (London, 1922), 30.

J'ai mis au net ce que j'ai traduit par vos ordres du petit livre allemand: C'est une suite des affaires des Hongrois, et la succession de leurs rois, . . .<sup>28</sup>

On trouve dans la correspondance de Jean de Balzac bien des lettres latines parmi les lettres françaises. On lit dans la préface de l'édition de 1665:

Les Lettres Latines de M. de Balzac ne meritent peut-estre pas moins de loüanges que les Françaises, la connoissance qu'il avoit des deux langues ne faisoit tort ni à l'une ni à l'autre . . .<sup>29</sup>

Mais au sujet des langues modernes on ne trouve qu'une *Dissertation Critique où l'auteur étudie plusieurs Ouvrages de vers et de prose écrits en diverses Langues*. Le titre est trompeur. Il ne parle que des langues classiques et de l'italien. Sa critique du style d'une harangue italienne nous donne le droit de supposer qu'il connaissait cette langue.

Voltaire écrivit ses *Lettres philosophiques* en anglais. Il savait moins bien l'italien. On lit dans une lettre écrite en cette langue le 9 janvier 1742:

Mi rincresco molto d'essere più pratico della lingua inglese che dell'italiana.<sup>30</sup>

Mais dans une lettre adressée à l'abbé d'Olivet, il prétend connaître plus ou moins bien plusieurs langues.

Je connais un peu toutes les langues modernes de l'Europe.<sup>31</sup>

A l'exception de Voltaire, nous n'avons aucune preuve que ces écrivains dont nous venons de citer plusieurs remarques sur les traits particuliers du français aient connu plusieurs autres langues. Il est rare qu'ils connaissent bien, plus d'une langue étrangère, et des étrangères la plus connue à cette époque en France, c'est l'italien. Ainsi les jugements prononcés ne sont point basés sur une comparaison sérieuse des langues mais sur des partis pris purement traditionnels ou personnels.

<sup>28</sup> La Bruyère, *Lettre à Condé* [le 3 avril 1685], dans *Œuvres* (Paris, 1865), II, 481.

<sup>29</sup> J. de Balzac, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1665), I, Préface.

<sup>30</sup> Bavoux, *Voltaire à Ferney* (Paris, 1865), 496-499.

<sup>31</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1885), XXXVIII, 201.



Tous les écrivains ou grammairiens de l'époque où dominait l'idée de la clarté de la langue française étaient-ils du même avis? Nous trouvons dans une traduction anglaise du *Traité des Langues* de Du Tremblay :

Now I shou'd be glad that anybody cou'd give me a sufficient reason, why we may not write and speak as clearly in one Language as in another.<sup>32</sup>

Monsieur Baldensperger cite l'opinion de Domergue, grammairien français du dix-huitième siècle :

L'obscurité peut être dans l'écrivain, elle n'est jamais dans la langue. Ce n'est donc pas à sa clarté que la langue française devra la conservation de sa prérogative . . .<sup>33</sup>

Mais en général l'opposition est faible. Vers le milieu du dix-huitième siècle, l'idée que la langue française possède une «clarté,» des «qualités logiques,» une «souplesse particulière» que ne possèdent pas d'autres langues, se propage et devient presque universelle.

Personne ne doute de l'importance de la précision dans le style diplomatique. Meissel écrivait vers 1823 :

L'affectation le précieux, la grâce de l'éloquence recherchée ne peuvent convenir dans des affaires aussi graves que celles qui occupent la politique: il lui faut le langage de la simplicité et de la raison . . . Dans les mémoires et surtout dans les actes, la simplicité et la clarté doivent dominer . . .<sup>34</sup>

Ce qu'il faudrait savoir, c'est si dans l'histoire de la diplomatie il y a souvent eu des controverses sérieuses au sujet du manque de clarté de telle langue, ou quelque cas où l'on ait donné la préférence à une langue plutôt qu'à une autre, en alléguant des qualités supérieures. Les discussions sur l'interprétation des traités abondent. Mais dans ces cas il ne s'agit plus de l'excellence d'une langue donnée, à exprimer des faits avec précision, mais de l'interprétation des diplomates, d'une divergence entre deux ou plusieurs textes rédigés en plusieurs langues, ou

<sup>32</sup> Du Tremblay, *A treatise of languages* (London, 1725), 75.

<sup>33</sup> Baldensperger, *Etudes d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1907), I, 26.

<sup>34</sup> Rivier, *Principes du droit des gens* (Paris, 1896), II, 24.

du manque de précision de l'auteur du document original ou de la traduction,—d'un auteur qui n'a pas su bien manier la langue. C'est ce qui eut lieu au sujet de l'article XIII, du traité d'Utrecht, article qui fut maintenu dans le traité de Paris de 1763 et ensuite modifié au traité de Versailles en 1783. Il s'agissait du droit de pêcher donné aux Français par les Anglais sur les côtes de Terre-Neuve. Citons le passage tel qu'on le trouve dans le texte latin du traité d'Utrecht : «Subditis Gallicis piscaturam exercere et pisces in terra exsiccare permissum erit.» Le texte est clair. C'est l'interprétation qui ne l'est point. Le traité donnait-il le droit aux Français de pêcher le homard ? Le homard, est-ce un poisson ? Le homard est-il vraiment pêché ou capturé ?

En 1786, la France et l'Angleterre signèrent un traité de commerce. Il y avait deux originaux : l'un, français ; l'autre, anglais. Il s'éleva certaines discussions au sujet du véritable sens de certains mots, certains noms d'articles de commerce rendus différemment dans les deux langues. Dans le texte français on inséra, probablement à la suite de cette discussion, l'équivalent anglais côte à côte au mot français. Ainsi on trouve dans l'article VI de la version française :

la Quincaillerie, et la Tableterie (en Anglois, *Hardware, Cutlery, Cabinet Ware* et *Turnery*)

la Bonneterie (en Anglois, *Hosiery*)

les Toiles de Batiste et Linons (en Anglois, *Cambricks* et *Lawns*)

les Modes (en Anglois, *Millinery*)

Le texte anglais, d'autre part, ne contient aucune explication française.

En 1923, la question du Saint-Naoum souleva une discussion sur l'interprétation du texte du protocole de Londres de 1913 qui définissait ainsi la frontière de l'Albanie :

. . . la région du nord de la ligne grecque, ainsi que l'ancien Kaza de Koritza avec la rive ouest et sud du lac d'Ochrida, s'étendant du village de Lim jusqu'au monastère de Svet-naoum, feront partie de l'Albanie.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Publications de la Cour permanente de Justice Internationale, Série B, Recueil des avis consultatifs, N° 9, Affaire du Monastère de Saint-Naoum (Leyde, 1924).

La question s'agita sur ce mot *jusqu'à*. Saint-Naoum devait-il être attribué à l'Albanie ou à la Serbie ?

Il se peut aussi qu'entre deux pays on dresse deux originaux en langues différentes. Les deux textes ne sont pas toujours pareils. Une discussion s'éleva entre l'Espagne et les Etats-Unis au sujet d'un passage du traité du 22 février 1819. Le roi d'Espagne cédait la Floride aux Etats-Unis. Dans l'article VII du traité on faisait allusion aux cessions faites par l'Espagne avant le 24 janvier 1818. Ces cessions, selon le texte espagnol, «*quedarán ratificadas y reconocidas*»; selon le texte anglais, «*shall be ratified and confirmed.*» Comme l'Espagne était le pays qui s'obligeait, ce fut le texte espagnol qui fut considéré l'original.

Le 7 mai 1830, on signa un traité entre les Etats-Unis et la Porte Ottomane. Le traité fut dressé en français et en turc, mais ce fut une traduction anglaise qu'accepta le sénat américain et qui fut renvoyée avec la ratification officielle au gouvernement ottoman. Ce dernier se plaignit de ce qu'on avait rendu une traduction et non l'original. Le chargé d'affaires américain, David Porter, consentit à signer une note qui reconnaissait le texte turc comme l'original. Plus tard (1868), une discussion commença au sujet de l'article IV du traité. La Turquie avait fait arrêter deux Américains. Les Etats-Unis déclarèrent que d'après l'article IV du traité, nul Américain ayant commis quelque délit ne devait être jugé par les magistrats turcs. Les Turcs prétendaient que la traduction anglaise était fautive. Ils assuraient que le droit de juger leur était réservé, et que le mot *tried* qui paraissait dans le texte anglais (*American citizens shall be tried and punished through the agency of their ministers and consuls*) n'existait pas dans le texte turc.<sup>36</sup>

Au mois de juillet 1922, il y eut une autre discussion de ce genre à Paris. C'était à une conférence internationale de

<sup>36</sup> J. B. Moore, *International Law Digest* (Washington, 1906), II, 668-714. F. E. Hinkley, *American Consular Jurisdiction in the Orient* (Washington, 1906), 21-29.

banquiers réunis pour régler des questions financières d'après-guerre. J. Pierpont Morgan écrit de Paris :

Early in the discussions of the committee it became apparent that there was a difference between the English and French texts of the reference from the Reparation Commission to the bankers' committee. This difference touched the very root of the matter in that the French reading definitely prohibited the committee from giving consideration to the schedule of payments as now determined, thus preventing any practical recommendations as to the basis upon which a loan to a potentially solvent Germany could be devised. The English text, on the other hand, was susceptible of a broader interpretation.<sup>87</sup>

Les textes auraient dû être pareils. Ils ne l'étaient pas.

Une discussion de textes s'éleva encore une fois pendant l'affaire Mavrommatis entre la Grèce et le gouvernement britannique. John Bassett Moore prétendait qu'il ne pouvait y avoir qu'une interprétation pour l'article XI du mandat pour la Palestine conféré à Sa Majesté britannique le 24 juillet 1922. Il ajoute que les textes français et anglais sont pareils, mais que

. . . in the emergency, there has suddenly been discovered in the English text an unnatural and previously unheard of elasticity, which has made it unnecessary to try the suggested possibilities of the French text.<sup>88</sup>

Les peuples ont tous un moyen de communiquer leurs idées. Ce moyen varie selon les origines du peuple et selon son caractère. Il y en a de très primitifs dont le vocabulaire est restreint et la syntaxe peu développée. Mais il y a d'autre part un groupe de langues qui se sont développées côte à côte, qui ont subi les plus grandes transformations et ont atteint un certain degré de stabilité et de perfection. Peut-on juger une langue de ce groupe plus claire et plus précise qu'une autre ? C'est, comme nous l'avons vu, le jugement qui a été fait sur la langue française. Mais ce jugement est sans base, c'est-à-dire purement subjectif. C'est un dogme qui s'est répandu. Toute remarque qui a été faite sur les qualités spéciales d'ordre et de

<sup>87</sup> A. E. Sproul, «Universal Language,» *New York Times* (July 30, 1922).

<sup>88</sup> Publications de la cour permanente de justice internationale. Série A, Recueil de Arrêts, No. 2, Affaire des Concessions Mavrommatis en Palestine (Leyde, 1924).

clarté du français doit son origine au souci des classiques et des grammairiens de purifier la langue. On finit par croire que c'était la langue même qui possédait ces qualités et primait à ce sujet parmi toutes les autres langues. Mais on n'a jamais tenté de rapprocher les langues et d'en faire une étude objective portant sur la richesse et la précision relatives de leurs vocabulaires, sur la clarté de leur syntaxe et sur leur puissance relative comme moyens de communication. L'idée que le français est plus clair que les autres langues modernes ne découle point d'une comparaison des langues, mais de quelques observations personnelles de Français ou d'amis de la France qui ne savaient qu'une ou deux langues au plus. Ils s'étaient tant souciés de perfectionner le français au point de vue de l'ordre et de la précision qu'ils ne pouvaient croire ne pas avoir réussi, et ne pouvaient croire que le français ne fût pas supérieur, sous ces rapports, aux autres langues. En un mot, presque sans exceptions, nous n'avons affaire qu'à des partis pris, qu'à des points de vue empruntés, subjectifs, ou personnels.

Il y a une chose à noter. L'idée que le français devait son universalité à sa précision ne parut qu'après que la langue avait commencé à être assez généralement employée dans les relations internationales. Les littérateurs du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle qui parlaient si souvent d'ordre et de clarté n'expliquaient pas de cette façon l'universalité de la langue. Ils se plaisaient plutôt à faire valoir l'attrait des œuvres littéraires de la France et le prestige de ses écrivains à l'étranger. Mais au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, comme nous l'avons déjà vu d'après les passages tirés de Bonfils, d'Albertini et de Novicow, la raison de l'excellence particulière de la langue est souvent avancée. Cette idée ne se développe que tard et après que la langue a acquis une place assez importante dans la diplomatie internationale. Cette raison est tardive et ne se développe qu'après coup. Au moment où le français commença à être assez généralement accepté par les nations comme langue internationale, on ne songeait guère à ses qualités. Ce n'est point à elles que l'on doit attribuer le prestige croissant de la langue.

## CHAPITRE V

LA CONCURRENCE CROISSANTE DU FRANÇAIS AVEC  
D'AUTRES LANGUES

Nous avons conclu que le français commença à être assez généralement employé dans les documents internationaux vers le milieu du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il ne faut pas croire cependant que cet usage ait été régulièrement suivi, surtout par les pays où le français n'était pas très connu. Les Danois se servaient de leur langue dans les traités dressés entre leur pays et la Suède. Voici quelques lignes d'une dépêche envoyée au Suédois Assebourg, le 10 avril 1756, par le comte Bernstorff, ministre du Danemark.

Vous savez, et vous aurez trouvé dans les papiers de vos prédécesseurs, que l'usage constant entre les deux cours porte que, dans tout traité à faire entre elles, chacune parle sa langue; c'est cet usage que je suis, en vous adressant notre projet en danois . . . Vous le présenterez ainsi à son exc. le baron de Hopken, mais vous ne ferez aucune difficulté de recevoir la réponse en suédois et lorsqu'il s'agira de dresser le traité même, on en fera, à l'exemple de nos pères, deux exemplaires, l'un en danois et l'autre en suédois.<sup>1</sup>

Ce sont surtout l'anglais et l'allemand qui gagnent du prestige. Il nous serait utile de tracer le développement de la politique de ces deux pays, développement qui est si étroitement lié au prestige de la langue. Je me contenterai de citer les cas où ces deux puissances insistèrent pour faire valoir leur langue.

Rappelons l'importance qu'acquiert l'anglais en France au dix-huitième siècle. Pendant le siècle précédent, l'Angleterre ne s'était attiré que du mépris de la part de la France. On la connaissait peu et on ne goûtait guère sa langue. Les écrivains de l'époque, les classiques, ne s'intéressaient qu'à l'espagnol et à l'italien, et ne se souciaient ni de l'allemand ni de l'anglais. La situation change au dix-huitième siècle. Tous

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondance ministérielle* (Copenhague, 1882), 148, 149.

les écrivains renommés de l'époque connaissent l'anglais. L'abbé Leblanc avait traduit Hume. C'est lui qui écrit dans ses *Lettres*:

Nous avons mis depuis peu leur langue au rang des langues savantes; les femmes même l'apprennent, et ont renoncé à l'italien pour étudier celle de ce peuple philosophe. Il n'est point dans la province d'Armande et de Belise qui ne veuille savoir l'anglais.<sup>2</sup>

Voltaire écrit à l'abbé d'Olivet, le 26 mars 1754:

L'anglais commence à prendre une grande faveur, depuis Addison, Swift, et Pope. Il sera bien difficile que cette langue devienne une langue de commerce comme la nôtre; mais je vois que, jusqu'aux princes, tout le monde veut l'entendre, parce que c'est de toutes les langues celle dans laquelle on a pensé le plus hardiment et le plus fortement. On ne demande, en Angleterre, permission de penser à personne.<sup>3</sup>

Hume écrivait en 1767 à l'historien Gibbon:

Let the French, therefore, triumph in the present diffusion of their tongue. Our solid and increasing establishments in America, where we need less dread the inundation of Barbarians, promise a superior stability and duration to the English language.<sup>4</sup>

En Angleterre, vers 1730, l'usage de l'anglais au lieu du latin devient obligatoire pour tous les mémoires et documents juridiques. Blackstone en note les inconvénients.

Now many clerks and attorneys are hardly able to read, much less to understand, a record even of so modern a date as the reign of George the First. And it has much enhanced the expense of all legal proceedings; for since the practicers are confined to write only a stated number of words in a sheet; and as the English language, through the multitude of its particles, is much more verbose than the Latin, it follows that the number of sheets must be very much augmented by the change. . . .<sup>5</sup>

En 1753, à la suite d'une discussion sur les frontières des territoires en Amérique, le ministère anglais envoya à la France une note dressée en anglais. M. de Saint-Contest, secrétaire

<sup>2</sup> Leblanc, *Lettres d'un Français*, II, 465, cité par Buckle, *History of Civilization in England* (London, 1873), II, 223, note 185.

<sup>3</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1885), XXXVIII, 201.

<sup>4</sup> Gibbon, *Miscellaneous Works* (Dublin, 1796), I, 133, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Blackstone, *Commentaries on the laws of England* (Philadelphia, 1900), Book III, 1297.

d'Etat aux Affaires Etrangères, fait renvoyer la note et demande qu'on l'écrive en français. Lord Holderness, secrétaire d'Etat anglais, s'oppose à la traduction.

Le ministre français insiste. Enfin, après deux mois de débats, le gouvernement anglais repousse le français comme langue unique, et offre, à titre de compromis, l'usage d'une langue neutre. Le département paraît peu goûter cette idée; sur l'avis de M. de Mirepoix, qui ne veut pas prolonger l'incident, M. de Saint-Contest cède d'assez mauvaise grâce.<sup>6</sup>

En 1794, Lord Malmesbury fut envoyé à Brunswick par le roi d'Angleterre pour négocier un mariage entre le prince de Galles et la princesse Caroline de Brunswick. Il écrivait de Brunswick, le 4 décembre 1794:

At eleven Monsieur de Feronce and his secretary Ongre came to me to sign the Marriage Treaty. It was drawn up in English and Latin—I objected to French.<sup>7</sup>

A partir de l'année 1800, l'anglais remplace définitivement le français dans les procédés diplomatiques de l'Angleterre. La *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* nous donne un renseignement très précis à ce sujet.

Grenville is responsible for making, in the year 1800, an important change in British diplomatic procedure. Before his time, French had been used in diplomatic conversations between the British Foreign Secretary and Foreign Representatives accredited to the Court of St. James. He introduced the use of English.<sup>8</sup>

Cet usage fut encouragé par les successeurs de Grenville, surtout par Canning et Palmerston. Canning insista pour que tous ses agents diplomatiques se servissent de l'anglais, exclusivement, dans les communications officielles. Il savait bien le français et l'écrivait correctement et assez facilement, comme l'on peut juger par les lettres françaises de sa correspondance. On a même dit qu'il avait été préféré à Peel pour le poste de secrétaire des Affaires Etrangères parce qu'il savait le français.

<sup>6</sup> Waddington, *Louis XIV et le renversement des alliances* (Paris, 1896), 53.

<sup>7</sup> Malmesbury, *Diaries and correspondence* (London, 1844), III, 162.

<sup>8</sup> *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 1923), III, 548.



Ce n'était probablement pas la seule raison, ni la plus importante, mais c'est celle qui a été avancée.

Depuis longtemps tout Anglais visant à la carrière diplomatique doit apprendre plusieurs langues, mais, pour le continent, surtout le français. On lit dans la *Cambridge History*:

. . . a candidate for the Diplomatic Service was required to turn English into French, to speak French with fluency and exactitude, to translate Latin, German, Spanish or Italian. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Le juriconsulte suisse, Alphonse Rivier, écrit en 1896:

L'anglais est aujourd'hui l'idiome le plus parlé; simple, clair, facile, il remplacera peut-être un jour le français comme langue diplomatique.<sup>10</sup>

Il cite aussi le témoignage du diplomate allemand Christoph Koelle, témoignage qui date de 1838:

Die allgemeine Verkehrssprache unserer Engel wird die englische sein.<sup>11</sup>

Jusqu'ici nous nous sommes bornés aux relations internationales européennes. Il ne faudrait pas manquer de noter l'importance de l'anglais en Asie. Les traités entre la Chine et une puissance étrangère sont souvent dressés en deux langues. Quelquefois les deux exemplaires ont la même valeur, et ni le texte chinois, ni celui du pays étranger, n'est indiqué comme devant prévaloir au cas de dissidence dans l'interprétation. Quelquefois, cependant, c'est le texte non-chinois qui doit faire foi. Le traité de 1865 entre la Chine et la Belgique est dressé en chinois et en français, mais c'est le texte français qui est l'original. Dans le traité de Tientsin (1858) entre la France et la Chine, et le traité de Portsmouth (1905) entre le Japon et la Russie, c'est le texte français qui doit prévaloir. Dans le traité de 1863 entre le Danemark et la Chine, et le traité de 1903 entre les Etats-Unis et la Chine, c'est le texte anglais qui doit faire foi.

Très souvent les traités sont dressés en trois langues, le français ou l'anglais jouant le rôle de langue tierce. Dans ces

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 596.

<sup>10</sup> *Principes du droit des gens* (Paris, 1896), II, 20.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

cas-là c'est le texte français ou anglais qui prévaut. C'est l'anglais qui a été employé dans cette fonction dans les traités de 1874 entre la Chine et le Pérou, de 1887 entre la Chine et le Portugal, de 1899 entre la Chine et le Mexique, de 1903 entre la Chine et le Japon. C'est, d'autre part, le texte français qui prime dans le traité de 1881 entre la Chine et la Russie et dans la convention de 1892 entre ces mêmes pays. Le traité de 1858 signé par la Chine et la Russie est dressé en trois langues: le russe, le manchou et le latin. Chose étrange, c'est le texte manchou qui doit prévaloir.

J'ai tenu à relever deux passages au sujet des langues française et anglaise, passages tirés des traités mêmes. Voici l'article XVII du traité de 1874 entre la Chine et le Pérou :

In order to prevent for the future any discussion, and considering that the English language, among all foreign languages, is the most generally known in China, this Treaty is written in the Spanish, Chinese, and English languages, and signed in nine copies, three in each language. . . . whenever the interpretation of the Spanish and Chinese versions may differ, then reference shall be made to the English text.<sup>12</sup>

Au sujet de la langue française, on lit à l'article V du traité de 1861 entre les Etats du Zollverein allemand et la Chine :

. . . Quant au présent traité, il sera expédié en langue Allemande, Chinoise et Française, dans le but d'éviter toute discussion ultérieure et par la raison que la langue Française est connue de tous les diplomates de l'Europe. Toutes ces expéditions ont le même sens et la même signification, mais le texte Français sera considéré comme le texte original du traité, de façon que, s'il y avait quelque part une interprétation différente du texte Allemand et du texte Chinois, l'expédition française fera foi.<sup>13</sup>

Si l'on doit se fier aux articles cités, il semble que l'anglais ait été employé comme langue tierce à cause de son importance en Chine; le français, à cause de son importance comme langue diplomatique de l'Europe.

Le français fut en vogue en Allemagne pendant une grande partie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Jamais il n'eut d'admirateur plus

<sup>12</sup> Hertslet, *Chinese treaties* (London, 1908), I, 419.

<sup>13</sup> De Martens, *Supplément au recueil des traités* (Gottingue, 1830), XI, Seconde Partie, 170, 171.

sincèrement passionné que le roi de Prusse, Frédéric II. Nous avons déjà observé que dès son règne le français remplaça le latin comme langue des procédés de l'Académie de Berlin.

Vers la fin du siècle, cependant, Hertzberg, curateur de l'Académie, fit adopter la langue allemande sur un pied d'égalité avec la française dans cette société. Le début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle marque le triomphe définitif de l'allemand dans l'Académie berlinoise.

Le 12 juillet 1817, la Confédération germanique décida de ne se servir que de l'allemand dans les documents échangés avec les autres puissances. Elle consentait cependant à y joindre une traduction latine ou française.

Bismarck fit comme Canning. Il insista pour que l'on se servît de l'allemand dans tous les rapports avec les puissances étrangères. Nous trouvons quelques passages intéressants à ce sujet dans le journal de Moritz Busch. Il a noté les paroles que prononça le chancelier, le 17 janvier 1871, au sujet d'une lettre française qu'il venait d'adresser à Favre :

Ich habe den Brief übrigens französisch geschrieben, erstens weil ich ihn nicht als amtlich betrachte, sondern als Privatkorrespondenz, dann aber damit sie ihn von den französischen Linien an bis zu ihm lesen können.<sup>14</sup>

Un jour on demanda à Bismarck en quelle langue était écrite la correspondance diplomatique de l'Allemagne. Voici sa réponse :

Deutsch. Früher wars Französisch. Ich habe es aber eingeführt. Doch nur mit solchen Kabinetten, deren Sprache bei uns verstanden wird. England, Italien, auch Spanien—das kann man zur Not auch lesen. Mit Russland nicht; denn da bin ich wohl der Einzige im Auswärtigen Amte, der es versteht. Holland, Dänemark und Schweden auch nicht; diese Sprachen lernt man doch in der Regel nicht. Die schreiben Französisch, und denen wird auch französisch geantwortet.<sup>15</sup>

Le 27 janvier de la même année, Busch a noté ces paroles de Bismarck :

<sup>14</sup> Moritz Busch, *Tagebuchblätter* (Leipzig, 1899), II, 59.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

Ach, Keudell—sagte er dann plötzlich—, da fällt mir ein: ich muss morgen eine Vollmacht haben, vom Könige—natürlich deutsch. Der deutsche Kaiser darf nur deutsch schreiben. Der Minister kann sich nach den Umständen richten. Der amtliche Verkehr muss in der Landessprache geführt werden, nicht in einer fremden, Bernstorff hat das zuerst durchsetzen wollen bei uns, er war aber damit zu weit gegangen. Er hat an alle Diplomaten deutsch geschrieben, und alle antworteten ihm—nach einem Komplott natürlich—in ihrer Muttersprache, russisch, spanisch, schwedisch und was weiss ich alles, sodass er einen ganzen Schwarm von Übersetzern im Ministerium sitzen hatte.—So fand ich die Sache als ich ins Amt trat. Budberg schickte mir eine russische Note. Das ging doch nicht an. Wollten sie sich revanchieren, so musste Gortschakof an unsern Gesandten in Petersburg russisch schreiben. Das war das Richtige. Man kann billigerweise verlangen, daß die Vertreter des Auslandes die Sprache des Landes verstehen und gebrauchen, in dem sie akkreditiert sind. Aber mir in Berlin auf ein deutsches Schreiben russisch antworten, das war unbillig. Ich bestimmte also: Was nicht deutsch oder französisch, englisch oder italienisch eingeht, bleibt liegen und geht zu den Akten. Budberg schrieb nun Exzitorien über Exzitorien, immer russisch. Keine Antwort, die Sachen waren in den Aktenschrank gewandert. Endlich kam er selbst und fragte, warum wir ihm denn nicht antworteten. Antworten?—sagte ich ihm verwundert—, auf was? Ich habe nichts gesehen von Ihnen.—Nun, er hätte vor vier Wochen geschrieben und mehrere male erinnert. —Richtig, da besinne ich mich—sagte ich ihm—, unten liegt ein Stoß Aktenstücke in russischer Schrift, da mags wohl dabei sein. Unten aber versteht kein Mensch russisch, und ich habe angeordnet; was in einer unverständlichen Sprache ankommt, geht zu den Akten.<sup>16</sup>

Tous les cas cités où l'on se sert d'une autre langue que de la française, et où l'on perçoit le désir de diplomates étrangers, surtout ceux des grandes puissances, de faire briller la langue de leur pays, montrent qu'il se développait un esprit et un orgueil national. Le français est préféré aux autres langues pendant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> et le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, surtout quand il s'agit de conférences internationales où se rassemblent des délégués de plusieurs nations, mais quand il n'est question que de traités ou de rapports entre deux pays, on se sert assez souvent d'autres langues. Cette concurrence avec le français gagnera-t-elle de l'importance au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle? C'est ce que nous allons voir.

<sup>16</sup> Moritz Busch, *Tagebuchblätter*, II, 98.

## CHAPITRE VI

## LE FRANÇAIS DEPUIS 1900

La question des langues a été souvent agitée depuis 1900, souvent avant la guerre, encore plus souvent depuis. Les revues fourmillent de propositions pour une langue universelle. Presque sans exception, ces propositions n'ont de valeur que parce qu'elles montrent les tendances d'une époque et le désir d'établir un moyen de communication entre les peuples.

Les langues artificielles empruntent certains éléments aux langues modernes et créent de toutes pièces une grammaire simple et régulière. De ces langues, c'est probablement l'Espéranto qui est la plus connue et la plus répandue. Il trouve des partisans zélés même de nos jours.

Quant aux langues modernes, parlées depuis des milliers d'années et qu'on peut qualifier de langues *naturelles*, ce sont l'anglais et le français qui dominent. Voici quelques remarques faites en faveur de l'anglais ou d'autres langues que la française.

*H. G. Wells*: In front and rear of China the English language stands. It has the start of all other languages—the mechanical advantage—the position. And if only we, who think and write and translate and print and put forth, could make it worth the world's having!<sup>1</sup>

*J. S. Ellis*: Whether a universal language be possible or desirable, I think most people will agree with me, that a language which possesses the immense literature now printed in the English tongue, which is spoken by more people than any other western language, and which is making immense and rapid strides in all quarters of the globe, bids fair to become such a language, if any does.<sup>2</sup>

*George Wright*: With regard to the universality of the English language, . . . that is doubtless an established fact.<sup>3</sup>

*F. Mallieux*: L'extension des colonies anglaises et de l'Amérique, le développement phénoménal de l'industrie germanique, ont prêté aux idiomes

<sup>1</sup> Wells, *Anticipations* (London, 1902), 244.

<sup>2</sup> *Scientific American* (Jan. 4, 1902).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (Jan. 11, 1902).

anglo-saxon et allemand une vogue qu'ils n'eurent jamais. Et la connaissance du français en pâlit.<sup>4</sup>

*Brander Matthews*: It [French] has failed to retain its apparent universality. . . . In Italy there are beginning to be signs that French is barely holding its own against English.<sup>5</sup>

*Meillet*: Par suite de cette communauté britannique et américaine, l'anglais est la grande langue commerciale du monde . . . L'anglais est devenu ainsi pour les relations entre Japonais, Chinois et Européens une langue commune.<sup>6</sup>

*L. A. Wilkins*: English is spoken in all the parts of the world—in Bombay and Shanghai, in Buenos Aires and Guayaquil, in Rio and Hamburg—because the merchant fleet and the mercantile enterprise of England have made English necessary to thousands non-English in their speech. . . . English has at least become the equal of French as the language of diplomacy.<sup>7</sup>

*Peter J. Popoff*: Has French outlived its career as the diplomatic language? Has it to yield its place to English, spoken nowadays much more than any other European tongue? It looks so.<sup>8</sup>

On trouve des remarques du même genre faites contre le français ou en sa faveur.

*Arnold Bey*: Il faut envisager le moment où le français pour se maintenir ou se répandre ne pourra compter que sur les deux facteurs principaux d'une expansion normale, l'intérêt économique et l'intérêt spirituel ou idéal.<sup>9</sup>

*H. Münsterberg*: There is, perhaps, one field in which a linguistic uniformity must be desired: that of international law. But this monopoly belongs to French and can hardly be taken away.<sup>10</sup>

*J. Novicow*: La France est un des foyers les plus intenses de la pensée humaine, un milieu des plus puissants de production scientifique et littéraire. Enfin, entre les nations civilisées, elle est une de celles qui inspirent le plus de sympathie aux étrangers. L'ensemble des facteurs naturels qui tra-

<sup>4</sup> Mallieux, *L'universalité de la langue française*, Congrès international pour l'extension et la culture de la langue française (Paris, 1906).

<sup>5</sup> Matthews, «English as a world-language,» *Century Magazine* (July, 1908).

<sup>6</sup> Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (Paris, 1918), 281-288.

<sup>7</sup> L. A. Wilkins, «The war and world language,» *Educational Review* (November, 1919).

<sup>8</sup> *New York Times* (Oct. 2, 1921).

<sup>9</sup> *La langue française est-elle en régression dans le monde?*, Congrès intern. pour l'extension et la culture du français (Paris, 1906).

<sup>10</sup> Münsterberg, «The World-Language,» *McClure's Magazine* (November, 1906).

vailent constamment à créer une langue auxiliaire internationale favoriso donc le français plus que tout autre idiome européen.<sup>11</sup>

*Fürstenhoff*: Ce serait méconnaître l'esprit pratique qui règne dans ce pays [l'Allemagne], que de croire qu'on n'y apprécierait pas à sa juste valeur l'énorme facilité de transaction que procurerait l'adoption immédiate du français comme langue auxiliaire internationale.<sup>12</sup>

*Meillet*: La part de la France dans les affaires internationales est devenue relativement beaucoup moins grande qu'elle n'était il y a cinquante ans; et des peuples démocratiques, comme la Norvège, soucieux avant tout d'étudier des langues qui peuvent être utiles pour le commerce, ont réduit à peu de chose l'enseignement du français dans leurs écoles, au profit de l'allemand et surtout de l'anglais, qui sont plus immédiatement utiles.<sup>13</sup>

Quelquefois les deux langues, le français et l'anglais, sont mises sur un pied d'égalité. Le comte Ayashi dit dans un discours prononcé à la société espérantiste japonaise, le 16 novembre 1907:

Quoique les langues anglaise et française soient relativement répandues en dehors de leurs frontières respectives, cependant, non seulement la première comme langue commerciale, mais aussi la seconde, comme langue des relations sociales, ont des sphères d'influence différentes.<sup>14</sup>

De même, dans la revue de *Scribner* du mois de mai 1919, on lit:

English is now the native speech of the inhabitants of a very large part of the earth's surface, and its expansion in the nineteenth century is one of the most striking phenomena of that phenomenal epoch. French is still the language of diplomacy; it is still the second language most likely to be acquired by the educated men of all countries. . . . Each is fit for service throughout the world.

Bien des raisons qui avaient été offertes comme explication de l'universalité du français à une époque antérieure commencent à être avancées pour l'anglais. Ces témoignages, comme ceux qui avaient été présentés pour le français, ne sont pas toujours de grande importance comme tels, mais l'ensemble de ces jugements particuliers nous trace une tendance, un courant, la mise en vedette de l'anglais.

<sup>11</sup> Novicow, «La langue auxiliaire du groupe de civilisation européen,» *Revue des deux mondes* (déc. 1907).

<sup>12</sup> Fürstenhoff, *Revue des Idées* (le 15 février 1910).

<sup>13</sup> Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (Paris, 1918), 287.

<sup>14</sup> Dauzat, *La défense de la langue française* (Paris, 1912), 300.

Revenons aux faits qui sont, eux, d'importance capitale. De quelle langue s'est-on servi dans les conférences internationales avant et depuis la guerre de 1914-1918?

La convention de Genève du 6 juillet 1906, signée par trente-quatre puissances, est dressée dans la langue française.

Les conférences de paix qui se réunirent à la Haye en 1899 et en 1906 adoptèrent le français comme langue officielle. Les rapports et les propositions étaient écrits en français. C'était aussi la langue la plus employée dans les discussions, quoiqu'on en permit d'autres, mais toute discussion dans une langue autre que la française était immédiatement traduite en cette langue.

Le texte des cas d'arbitrage international de la Haye indique, d'habitude, la langue ou les langues qui ont été adoptées par les tribunaux. On s'est souvent plaint de la perte de temps et des frais occasionnés par interprètes et traductions, et on a souvent souhaité qu'une seule langue fût adoptée pour tous les cas et toutes les discussions. En 1903 la question s'agita pendant le cas d'arbitrage entre l'Allemagne, la Belgique, l'Espagne, les Etats-Unis, la France, la Grande-Bretagne, l'Italie, le Mexique, les Pays-Bas, la Suède et la Norvège d'une part, et le Venezuela de l'autre. Il s'agissait de décider si tel ou tel pays avait droit à un traitement préférentiel pour le paiement de ses réclamations contre le Venezuela. Le tribunal décida que :

The protocols, the decisions, and the sentence of the tribunal of arbitration shall be drawn up in English and in French, both having the same authoritative and judicial value; . . .<sup>15</sup>

Le tribunal modifia sous peu cette déclaration. C'est l'anglais qui fut choisi langue officielle des séances. On permit cependant aux délégués de choisir une langue auxiliaire. Chaque délégué parla pour la langue de son pays. Le délégué français fit remarquer qu'ils avaient tous employé le français pour faire leurs réclamations. Ce fut la langue choisie comme langue secondaire.

<sup>15</sup> Barelay, *Problems of International Practice and Diplomacy* (London, 1907), 28.



La question des langues fut encore soulevée le 22 mai 1905. Voici le règlement adopté par le tribunal :

The court by virtue of the power conferred on it by Art. XXXVIII of the Hague Convention, decides: that the French language shall be that of the Court; nevertheless, the parties shall have the right to present either in French or in English any communications they may have to make to the Court.<sup>16</sup>

L'Article XXXVIII de la Convention de la Haye laissait au tribunal d'arbitrage le soin de choisir les langues qui devaient être employées. Voici une liste des cas d'arbitrage les plus importants, et les langues qui y furent autorisées pour les débats :

<i>Cas</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Langue</i>
Etats-Unis et Venezuela	1909	français, anglais, espagnol
France et Grande-Bretagne	1910	français, anglais
Russie et Turquie	1910	français
France et Italie	1913	français
Portugal et Pays-Bas	1913	français

Quelle fut l'importance du français dans les conférences et les traités qui ont suivi la guerre de 1914? En janvier 1919, dès le début de la conférence de Paris, une discussion s'éleva sur le choix des langues dont on devait se servir pour le traité avec l'Allemagne. On proposa le français comme langue officielle, mais Lloyd George et Wilson firent valoir les droits de l'anglais. Des réclamations furent faites pour l'italien. Clemenceau proposa l'italien, l'anglais et le français comme langues officielles, avec la réserve que le texte français ferait foi au cas de discussions sur l'interprétation à rendre. Wilson et Lloyd George insistèrent pour que l'italien ne fût point ajouté aux deux autres langues. On finit par dresser le traité en anglais et en français. Les deux textes font également foi. On y lit à l'article 440 :

The Present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. . . .

Cependant pour le traité de Saint-Germain (septembre 1919), entre les Alliés et l'Autriche, de Neuilly (novembre 1919), entre

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

les Alliés et la Bulgarie, de Trianon (juin 1920), entre les Alliés et la Hongrie, de Sèvres (août 1920), entre les Alliés et la Turquie, on a employé trois langues, l'italien, l'anglais et le français, mais c'est le texte français qui fait foi. On y trouve l'article suivant :

The Present Treaty, in French, in English, and in Italian, shall be ratified. In case of divergence the French text shall prevail, except in Parts II (Covenant of the League of Nations) and XII (Labour), where the French and English texts shall be of equal force.

On se servit le plus souvent du français et de l'anglais pendant les discussions de commissions et de conseils. Lloyd George et Wilson connaissaient peu le français; d'autre part, Clemenceau parlait assez couramment l'anglais. Ce fut cette langue qu'on parla dans la plupart des réunions des quatre chefs. Grâce à l'aide du célèbre interprète, le professeur Mantoux, Orlando, qui ne comprenait pas l'anglais, put tout de même prendre part aux discussions et les suivre sans trop de difficulté.

Les délégués allemands se servirent de leur langue maternelle pour les contre-propositions envoyées aux Alliés au mois de mai 1919. Ce fut aussi en allemand que le chef de la délégation allemande, Brockdorff-Rantzau, s'adressa aux Alliés réunis à Versailles, le 7 mai 1919, au moment où lui fut formellement délivré le traité de paix.

L'Emir Feisal, délégué d'Arabie, prononçait toujours ses discours en arabe. Ils étaient immédiatement traduits en anglais par le colonel Lawrence.

Sauf ces exceptions, auxquelles on devrait ajouter l'emploi dans quelques occasions de l'italien, ce fut presque toujours du français ou de l'anglais qu'on se servit pendant la conférence de la paix de 1919.

Le traité de Lausanne (juillet 1923) entre la Grande-Bretagne, la France, l'Italie, le Japon, la Grèce, la Roumanie, l'Etat serbe-croate-slovène et les Etats-Unis d'une part, et la Turquie de l'autre, est dressé en français. On en donne souvent une traduction anglaise, mais il n'y a qu'un original. La con-

férence de Lausanne comptait des délégués de tous les pays nommés. Il y eut trois langues officielles: l'anglais, l'italien et le français.

Quatre mois avant l'ouverture de la conférence de Washington, en 1921, on fit courir le bruit que l'anglais serait la seule langue officielle de la conférence. L'Académie française décida, le 19 août 1921, d'adresser une déclaration au premier ministre, le priant «de maintenir le privilège deux fois séculaire, qui a fait de la langue française l'instrument diplomatique par excellence, à cause de ses vertus de précision et de clarté.»<sup>17</sup> Le 24 août, Monsieur Briand envoyait sa réponse à Monsieur Masson, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie. Il fait remarquer qu'il se trouve en face de certains précédents, que, depuis 1919, l'anglais avait été adopté au même titre que le français dans les conférences. «A l'heure actuelle, la question n'est plus entière,» écrit-il.<sup>18</sup>

Au mois de novembre, l'Académie belge appuyait la demande de l'Académie française.

L'Académie royale de la langue et littérature françaises de Belgique, considérant que la langue française a des qualités exceptionnelles de précision et d'élégance qui l'ont désignée au choix des diplomates, considérant que l'Académie française, par un vote solennel, a invité la diplomatie à conserver à cette langue le privilège qui lui avait été conféré depuis trois siècles . . . déclare s'associer au vœu formulé par l'Académie française.<sup>19</sup>

La conférence de Washington dura du 12 novembre 1921 au 6 février 1922. Le texte des rapports et de tous les documents est en français et en anglais. Ce furent aussi presque les seules langues employées par les délégués dans les discussions. Tous les discours étaient immédiatement traduits en ces langues. A la première séance, Monsieur Charles Hughes, qui présidait, dit en anglais: «It is understood to be agreeable to the Delegates that both French and English shall be the official languages of the Conference; and, in order that time may be saved, as the address of the President has already been distributed in both languages, it is assumed not to be necessary to have it repeated

<sup>17</sup> *Le Temps* (le 25 août 1921).      <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Conference on the Limitation of Armament*, Government Printing Office (Washington, 1922), 49-51.

in interpretation. Is that agreeable to you, Mr. Briand?» Monsieur Briand répondit: «Je remercie M. le Président de sa communication. Etant donné qu'il y a une traduction écrite et afin de ne pas faire perdre de temps, la Délégation française ne demande pas de traduction verbale.»

Les délégués de la Chine, des Pays-Bas, des Etats-Unis, de la Grande-Bretagne, du Portugal, se servirent de l'anglais. Le prince Tokugawa, délégué japonais, se servit de l'anglais, mais le baron Kato, son collègue, prononça, le 15 novembre 1921, un discours en japonais, discours qui fut de suite traduit d'abord en anglais, ensuite en français. Les délégués italiens se servaient par occasion du français, mais presque toujours de l'anglais. On lit dans *Le Temps* du 23 novembre 1921 :

M. Briand a clarifié et assaini l'atmosphère. La journée d'aujourd'hui n'a pas seulement été la journée de la France, elle a été la journée du français. Nous devons, en effet, noter la manifestation de M. Schanzer, [délégué italien], s'exprimant en notre langue, afin que la pensée de l'Italie aille droit, sans délai de traduction, à son amie la France.

Il n'y a en somme que les délégués français et belges qui se soient servis régulièrement de la langue française.

En 1921, une convention fut signée à Genève pour la non-fortification et la neutralisation des îles d'Aland. Cet acte fut signé par la France, la Grande-Bretagne, l'Italie, la Suède, la Pologne, le Danemark, la Finlande, l'Esthonie, la Lettonie et l'Allemagne. Il n'y eut qu'un seul texte du traité, un texte français.

La Société des Nations publie ses rapports en anglais et en français. Ce sont les deux langues officielles de ses conférences. Voici l'article XVI du règlement des procédés de l'assemblée, règlement adopté à la conférence de Genève (1920) :

1. Les discours en français, sont résumés en anglais, et vice-versa, par un interprète appartenant au Secrétariat.
2. Tout représentant parlant dans une autre langue doit assurer lui-même la traduction de son discours en français ou en anglais.
3. Tous les documents, résolutions et rapports communiqués par le président ou par le Secrétariat, doivent être rédigés à la fois en français et en anglais.

4. Tout représentant peut faire distribuer des documents écrits dans une langue autre que le français ou l'anglais, mais le Secrétariat n'est pas tenu de pourvoir à leur traduction ou à leur impression.

Le 20 novembre 1920, vingt puissances firent une réclamation pour la langue espagnole. C'était la langue maternelle de presque la moitié des puissances faisant partie de la Société. Monsieur Garay, délégué du Panama, dit dans un discours à l'assemblée :

Nous reconnaissons que le français est la langue diplomatique, que l'anglais est la langue économique, la langue des affaires par excellence, mais il faut reconnaître aussi que l'espagnol est la langue la plus répandue parmi les membres de la Société des Nations et qu'au point de vue de la représentation proportionnelle, elle devrait être admise par l'Assemblée sur un pied d'égalité avec le français et l'anglais.<sup>20</sup>

On n'ajouta pas l'espagnol aux deux autres langues. On ne fit qu'attirer l'attention de ceux qui favorisaient cette langue sur la quatrième partie de l'article XVI du règlement de l'assemblée. Tout membre de la Société a le droit de se servir de la langue qui lui plaît, pourvu qu'il se charge de faire traduire ses discours et documents dans une des langues officielles de la Société.

Les puissances qui signèrent le protocole établissant le procédé de la Cour permanente de Justice Internationale, ont aussi choisi l'anglais et le français comme langues officielles. Voici l'article XXXIX du règlement :

The official languages of the Court shall be French and English. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment will be delivered in French. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgment will be delivered in English. In the absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may, in the pleadings, use the language which it prefers; the decision of the Court shall be given in French and English. In this case the Court will at the same time determine which of the two texts shall be considered authoritative. The Court may, at the request of the parties, authorize a language other than French or English to be used.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> League of Nations Records of the First Assembly, Plen. M. (Geneva, 1920), 223.

<sup>21</sup> Statut de la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale, Article XXXIX.

Le 5 octobre 1925, les délégués de sept puissances européennes—l'Allemagne, la Grande-Bretagne, la France, l'Italie, la Belgique, la Pologne, et la Tchécoslovaquie—se réunirent à Locarno pour dresser les sept traités qui portent ce nom. C'est Monsieur Rusca, syndic de la ville, qui reçoit les délégations. Son allocution de bienvenue est prononcée en français, ainsi que la réponse de Monsieur Chamberlain, le délégué britannique. D'après les détails que j'ai pu recueillir dans le *Times* de Londres et dans *Le Temps*,<sup>22</sup> il semble qu'en général le français ait été la langue des conférences, quoiqu'il n'y ait pas eu de décision officielle réglant la question de la langue à employer. Le président, Monsieur Chamberlain, s'en sert constamment. Pourtant, les représentants allemands, Messieurs Luther et Stresemann, se servent assez souvent de l'allemand, quoique tous deux parfaitement capables de parler le français, comme le témoignent quelques discours prononcés en cette langue devant les délégations, et les conversations privées tenues avec Monsieur Briand, qui ne parle pas l'allemand.

Le texte des traités ayant été dressé, les délégués y apposèrent leurs signatures, le 16 octobre, suivant l'ordre alphabétique de leurs pays, d'après la langue française, ce qui donnait la première place à l'Allemagne.

C'est à Londres qu'eut lieu, le 2 décembre, la cérémonie formelle de la signature des traités de Locarno. Malgré les discours allemands de Messieurs Luther et Stresemann, c'est le français la langue qui domine. Quant aux documents mêmes, il n'en existe qu'un seul texte officiel, et le français y est employé exclusivement.

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<sup>22</sup> Une dizaine d'autres journaux ou périodiques importants consultés sur ce point n'ajoutent rien à ce que nous apprenons dans les deux journaux ci-dessus cités.

## CONCLUSION

L'époque étudiée s'étend du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au deuxième tiers du XX<sup>e</sup>. Nous avons surtout souligné les périodes de transition. Il y en a deux: celle où le français empiète sur le domaine traditionnel du latin, et celle où l'anglais en fait de même pour le français. Ce sont surtout ces deux époques qui nous intéressent; les années intermédiaires qui continuent la coutume établie sont moins importantes pour cette étude.

Le latin commence à perdre son prestige dans la diplomatie vers la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Diverses prononciations s'étaient développées pour le latin dans les pays qui l'employaient, et on finissait par ne plus pouvoir s'entendre. D'autre part se développaient les langues nationales. C'est la langue française qui prime parmi les langues nationales dans les discussions des conférences, et c'est celle qui finit par remplacer le latin dans les documents écrits. C'était la France qui dominait à cette époque dans la politique.

C'est le développement des unités nationales et du sentiment national qui avait aidé le français à atteindre cette place importante. Les pays qui se seraient servis du latin se souciaient de développer leurs propres langues qui étaient loin de pouvoir rivaliser avec le français; en cessant de faire usage du latin ils ôtaient le seul obstacle au progrès du français.

Au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'autres unités nationales se développent et gagnent de l'importance politique et militaire. Leurs langues suivent ce développement. Le français voit paraître plusieurs concurrents dont les plus redoutables sont l'anglais et l'allemand. La grande crise de 1914 survient. L'allemand perd son prestige. L'anglais ne fait qu'un bond et s'élève au niveau du français dans la diplomatie. L'importance des Etats-Unis dans les relations internationales, ainsi que celle des colonies anglaises, ne pouvait que favoriser le développement de l'importance de la langue anglaise dans la diplomatie.

Il nous reste à démêler les causes qui régissent ces événements, et à décider si les mêmes s'appliquent aux deux périodes capitales. Quatre causes ont été proposées comme explication du prestige du français dans les relations internationales pendant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: (1) prépondérance politique de la France, (2) son influence littéraire et intellectuelle, (3) son influence comme langue sociale, (4) les qualités spéciales de la langue française. De nos jours on attribue l'importance de l'anglais: (1) à la prépondérance politique de l'Angleterre et des Etats-Unis, (2) à l'importance de la langue dans le commerce et l'industrie.

Il y a une cause commune aux deux groupes: la prépondérance politique. Quelle est la valeur des autres? L'étude des qualités spéciales d'une langue, étude objective et impartiale, est encore à faire; jusqu'ici les jugements prononcés sur la clarté du français sont de caractère subjectif, et les controverses diplomatiques découlent de textes et d'interprétations divergents et de pensées exprimées d'une façon obscure. Cela ne tient pas à la langue ou au manque de précision de celle-ci. D'autre part, que ces qualités soient réelles ou fausses, elles ont joué un rôle minime et n'ont été présentées qu'après coup.

Le français fut à une certaine époque la langue cultivée des lettres et des courtisans, la langue de l'élite. C'était la langue à la mode parmi l'aristocratie. De nos jours, l'anglais est la langue commerciale par excellence, grâce à l'étendue des pays qui s'en servent et au grand nombre de leurs colonies. Les influences littéraires jouent un rôle important, mais elles soutiennent et ne déterminent pas.

La cause qui détermine, c'est le prestige politique d'un peuple. C'est de ce fait même que découlent bien d'autres influences qui semblent être des causes, et qui ne sont en réalité que des résultats. C'est la langue d'une puissance qui domine que les autres puissances veulent apprendre et propager. Ce sont en même temps les coutumes et les lettres de ce peuple qu'ils adoptent. Tout se rapporte au prestige d'une nation, à



ce respect que s'attire un peuple par le fait même qu'il domine les autres, et l'importance d'une langue à l'étranger suit de près l'importance politique de la nation qui la parle.

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RICHARDSON'S NOVELS

BY

FRANK HOWARD WILCOX



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## PREFACE

This study is an attempt to illustrate certain characteristics of French taste in the eighteenth century by an examination of the changes which Prévost introduced into his versions of Richardson's novels. The task has been one of selection, for to present all the evidence would swell this monograph into the proportions of an encyclopedia. I have limited myself, therefore, to the discussion of a comparatively small number of Prévost's alterations, but I have endeavored to choose those that are significant and characteristic.\*

In quoting from Prévost's translations and from other French works of the same period, I have chosen, for the sake of uniformity, to modernize the spelling, except in the case of proper nouns.

I am happy to acknowledge my obligations to the Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation, through the generosity of which I had the opportunity to work in the libraries of Brussels and London. I am indebted also to Professor Gustave Charlier, of the University of Brussels, at whose suggestion I undertook this study. Professors Charles Mills Gayley and Richard Thayer Holbrook, of the University of California, have given me helpful advice, and Miss Clara Marburg, of Vassar College, has supplied me with valuable references to French periodicals of the eighteenth century. I have received every courtesy from the staffs of the Bibliothèque Royale, the British Museum, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Above all, my gratitude is due to Professor Chauncey Wetmore Wells, of the University of California, under whose direction this dissertation has been written; his sympathy has been an encouragement and his scholarship an aid throughout the whole course of my labor.

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\* The reader who is curious to see the evidence presented at greater length may be referred to my dissertation in the Library of the University of California, of which this paper is an abridgement.



# PRÉVOST'S TRANSLATIONS OF RICHARDSON'S NOVELS

BY

FRANK HOWARD WILCOX

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## CHAPTER I

### THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN FRANCE

During the latter half of the seventeenth century, the movement of literary fashions was from France to England. The dominance of French taste was not absolute, to be sure, and at times there were vigorous protests uttered in behalf of the independence of English letters. But in the more important matters of literary decorum, even those who protested conformed. On the other hand, French ignorance of England was at this time almost complete, and the general interest in things English may be inferred from Cominges, the Ambassador of Louis XIV at the court of Charles II, who wrote "rue Rose Street," without any suspicion of tautology.<sup>1</sup>

During the first half of the eighteenth century the current set in the other direction. It is not so much that French letters ceased to exert an influence in England; perhaps their prestige waned somewhat, but the novels of Marivaux and Le Sage and Prévost were read with enthusiasm both in French and English, and Voltaire was perhaps as much read and as often refuted north of the channel as south of it. But at this time the French public first became aware of English literature and discovered in it strange and attractive qualities.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jusserand, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of this invasion of France by English letters, see Texte, Jusserand, and Lounsbury.

The first real impulse toward the knowledge of English literature came from the exiled Huguenots, who formed a considerable colony in London. Many of these refugees undertook to make their countrymen share the enthusiasm they felt for English institutions and ideas. This enthusiasm found expression in various short-lived journals, written in London, but printed more frequently in Amsterdam or The Hague. At first the political and philosophical ideas of the English found most favor with the refugees, but as time went on, more and more attention was given to English literature. Accounts were given of new books, and passages of notable poems and plays were translated as samples of what was liked in England. It was now possible for the French public to acquaint itself, even though imperfectly, with some of the representative productions of English genius.

The work of the Huguenot journals was carried on by B eat de Muralt, whose *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Franais et sur les voyages* appeared in 1725. Muralt, however, was not primarily concerned with English literature, and he seems to have known it very ill.

A much more important book than that of Muralt is the *Lettres anglaises* of Voltaire. The last seven of these letters are devoted to a critical review of English literature. In his criticism, Voltaire is not altogether free from the prejudices of his time and his country. He admires much in English literature, but where English practice differs from French, he criticizes unsparingly. He praises Shakespeare in a sentence that has become familiar: "Shakespeare . . . avait un g nie plein de force et de f condit , de naturel et de sublime, sans la moindre  tincelle de bon go t, et sans la moindre connaissance des r gles."<sup>3</sup> He goes on to Dryden, who would have been great if he had written only a quarter of his works, mentions Otway, and ends his account of English tragedy with Addison, who is "le premier Anglais qui ait fait une trag die raisonnable."<sup>4</sup> He thinks more highly of the comedy of the Restoration; he praises its naturalness and objects only to its coarseness. His real

<sup>3</sup> *Oeuvres*, XXII, 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.



sympathy is, however, with the work of such poets as Pope and Prior and Butler, men whose art is conceived upon the same principles as his own.

The significance of these comments lies not in their aptness, but in the fact that they drew the attention of the French public to a field which was still largely unexplored. The *Lettres anglaises* was a very popular book, and many a reader must have found there for the first time the name of Shakespeare. Voltaire thus did much to encourage the anglomania which he later came to deplore.

An even more influential interpreter of the English to the French was the abbé Prévost, whose work we must examine in some detail. Into the narrative of his career as a priest, soldier, and man of letters we shall not enter, except to recall to the reader the fact that in November, 1728, upon the occasion of his premature departure from the abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, he was obliged to flee to England to avoid a *lettre-de-cachet*.<sup>5</sup> Two years later he went to Holland, but returned to England in 1733, where he lived for the next eighteen months. Thus he spent altogether about three and a half years in England.

We know little of the details of Prévost's life in England, but at least he acquired a thorough knowledge of the language. It is certain, too, that he became imbued with a great enthusiasm for the country of his exile, for its institutions and its manners, but above all for its literature. The first fruit of this enthusiasm is to be seen in the *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*.

The first mention of England is in Book III.<sup>6</sup> The hero is for a short period in the service of William of Orange, at the time of the Revolution of 1688. He is set to guard the captive James II, with orders to let him escape, and then to pursue and kill him. Touched by the king's misfortunes, he warns him of the plot, and is forced himself to leave England to avoid the vengeance of William. This part of the novel was written while Prévost was still at St. Germain-des-Prés, and except for the historical personages referred to, there is nothing to attach the

<sup>5</sup> Harrisse, pp. 141-43.

<sup>6</sup> *Oeuvres choisies*, I, 126-137.

episode to England. This adventure is put in that country in the same way as others are put in Germany and Turkey and Portugal, without any attempt to give reality to the scene.

Quite the reverse is true of Books X–XI, written after Prévost had fled to England. Here the story is almost forgotten while the author gives a glowing picture of English life and character. He gives a description of London; he recounts such typical incidents as a visit to a masquerade at Haymarket, to a “*combat de gladiateurs*,” and to Tunbridge; he devotes seven-teen pages to a summary account of a journey in the south of England, with short descriptions of the principal towns.<sup>7</sup>

The tone of his comments is in general very favorable. He calls England “un pays qui n'est pas aussi estimé qu'il devrait l'être des autres peuples de l'Europe, parce qu'il ne leur est pas assez connu.”<sup>8</sup> Again, he makes an extended comparison of the Spaniards, who are pleasing neither on first nor on mature acquaintance, and the French, who are found charming at first, because of their polished manners, with the English, whose manners may be defective, but whose virtues are inward and substantial. “Les vertus anglaises sont ordinairement des vertus constantes, parce qu'elles sont fondées en principes; et ces principes sont l'ouvrage d'une heureuse nature et de la plus pure raison.”<sup>9</sup>

He says little of the literature, but that little is warmly appreciative.

Je ne parle point de Milton et de Spenser, dont les grands noms sont connus partout où l'on cultive les belles-lettres: ces deux célèbres poètes ont été suivis de quantité d'autres, qui ne sont inférieurs en rien aux meilleurs poètes de tous les temps; un *Prior*, un *Addisson*, un *Tompson*, etc. noms chéris des muses.<sup>10</sup>

Even for the drama he finds words of praise, in spite of the disregard of the rules. Mrs. Oldfield, he says, is responsible for his appreciation.

Elle m'a fait aimer le théâtre anglais, pour lequel j'avais d'abord fort peu de goût. Charmé du son de sa voix, de sa figure, et de toute son action, je me pressai d'apprendre assez d'anglais pour l'entendre, et je ne manquai guère, après cela, d'assister aux pièces où elle paraissait.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Oeuvres*, II, 347–364.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 250–251.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 269.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 237.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 271.

When once that first distaste is removed, there is but one qualification to his liking; he cannot altogether approve of the lack of "regularity" in the English drama.

J'ai vu plusieurs de leurs pièces de théâtre, qui m'ont paru ne le céder, ni aux grecques, ni aux françaises. J'ose dire même qu'elles les surpasseraient, si leurs poètes y mettaient plus de régularité; mais pour la beauté des sentiments, soit tendres, soit sublimes; pour cette force tragique qui remue le fond du coeur . . . pour l'énergie des expressions, et l'art de conduire les événements, ou de ménager les situations, je n'ai rien lu, ni en grec ni en français, qui l'emporte sur le théâtre d'Angleterre.<sup>12</sup>

In *Cleveland* there is no such detailed description of England, nor any such direct eulogy of English institutions. Prévost's interests is shown in another fashion. The most important characters of the novel are all English; English historical personages play a part in the action; and English political disturbances from 1640 to 1660 form the background of the history. A large part of the novel takes place in England and the English colonies in America. More important still is the character of Cleveland himself, who is, like Rousseau's Milord Bomston, a typical English philosopher. Cleveland is infinitely more "sensible" than Bomston, and his philosophy is put to severer tests, so that there is a constant struggle between his acquired fortitude and his human weakness. Ultimately he finds the support of philosophy insufficient and enters the fold of the church, but during the course of his sufferings he is constantly examining his griefs in the light of the eternal principles that govern the universe, in order to see them in their true proportions and to attain to a philosophical superiority to them. Such impassive fortitude, founded on principle, may not have been a characteristic of the English, but it was certainly a part of the French idea of them.

Another respect in which the character of Cleveland is peculiarly English is this: he suffers greatly from melancholy, even when his fortune is not unfavorable; he has the *spleen*. On one occasion he plans and almost carries out a project of suicide, a weakness believed to be most common among the English.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

Important as was this treatment of England in such widely read novels as the *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité* and *Cleveland*, Prévost was to play a still more considerable part in interpreting England to the French public. When he left Holland for his second visit to London, he was in dire need of money. The expedient to which he had recourse was the publication of a journal, which he wrote at first in London, but which appeared in Paris. The *Pour et Contre* was not purely a literary journal; Prévost was eager to please his readers, and he included everything that promised to offer entertainment—sports, gossip, marvelous incidents, specifics against the smallpox. He talks of everything, however little he may know of the subject, as he frankly confesses.

J'ose aujourd'hui vous communiquer quelques réflexions sur la divisibilité de la matière, son existence, la nature de l'âme des bêtes, des hommes et des intelligences supérieures, sans être versé néanmoins dans la lecture des métaphysiciens, non plus que dans la géométrie et l'algèbre où j'avoue que je ne comprends presque rien.<sup>13</sup>

But an important place was given to serious literary criticism, as well as to lighter gossip about literary personages, and since Prévost was living in London it was natural that he should turn his attention chiefly to English literature. He says:

Enfin, ce qui sera tout à fait particulier à cette feuille, je promets d'y insérer chaque fois quelque particularité intéressante touchant le génie des Anglais, les curiosités de Londres et des autres parties de l'île, les progrès qu'on y fait tous les jours dans les sciences et les arts, et de traduire même quelquefois les plus belles scènes de leurs pièces de théâtre.<sup>14</sup>

With two interruptions Prévost continued the journal until 1740.<sup>15</sup> In the course of these years he touched upon many different aspects and figures of English literature. Sometimes his criticism is ill-informed and prejudiced—Havens has pointed out, for instance, that the credit usually given Prévost as the

<sup>13</sup> *Pour et Contre*, XIII, 169.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 11.

<sup>15</sup> Volume 2, page 83 to the end, and volume 3, pages 1-48, are from the hand of the abbé Desfontaines; volume 17, page 25 to the end, all of volume 18, and volume 19, pages 25-48, are by Lefèvre de Saint-Marc. See Havens, pp. 28-32.

first French enthusiast for Shakespeare is ill-deserved; his attitude is very close to the conventional French attitude of the time.<sup>16</sup> In this case, however, by printing copious extracts from the essays of Rowe and Gildon, he at least gives his readers an opportunity to know the opinions of the English themselves. Sometimes his enthusiasms lead him astray, as when he calls Glover's *Leonidas* that "chef-d'oeuvre de la poésie anglaise."<sup>17</sup>

Such aberrations as these are, however, exceptional in Prévost's criticism. He gives Milton due praise, and even translates a passage from *Samson Agonistes*.<sup>18</sup> When Prévost is concerned with contemporary or nearly contemporary English literature, his comments are generally very sane. Dryden, Addison, Steele, and Pope were close enough to the spirit of the eighteenth century in France for even a less liberal mind than Prévost's to find them acceptable. One is not surprised to find that Prévost deals with all of them, and that his judgments are, so far as they go, not very different from those of today.

Prévost did more in the *Pour et Contre* than merely talk about English literature. In beginning the undertaking he had promised to translate from time to time "les plus belles scènes de leurs pièces de théâtre." In carrying out that promise he translated Dryden's *All For Love*,<sup>19</sup> Steele's *Conscious Lovers*,<sup>20</sup> and Lillo's *London Merchant*.<sup>21</sup> Nor did he confine himself to the drama. Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* and Swift's *On the Art of Sinking in Poetry* were included.<sup>22</sup> These translations are not perfect; they do violence to the originals in a number of ways. Passages are omitted, the style is toned down, and the *bienséances* of French criticism are more carefully observed. What is distinctively English in the selections is thus weakened, but it does not entirely disappear. Even in these mutilated versions there is much that must have seemed new and strange to the French reader.

<sup>16</sup> Havens, chap. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Texte, p. 67.

<sup>18</sup> *Pour et Contre*, XII, 135.

<sup>19</sup> *Pour et Contre*, VII, 123-44, 146-68, 170-240.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 109-321.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 338 ff., and IV, 18 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 49 ff.; XIII, 324-35.

The significance, then, of the *Pour et Contre* and other such journals is that they awakened an interest in English literature and that they presented to the French public a few poems and plays more or less typical of that literature. The demand for such productions increased rapidly, and there soon grew up a flourishing trade in translations. Prévost was one of the most devoted workers at this trade, and after 1740, when he abandoned the *Pour et Contre*, his most notable labor was the translation of Richardson's novels.

Before entering upon a detailed study of Prévost's translations, it may be well to say a word in regard to certain other translations of the time, in order to have some standard of comparison. The most prolific and the most popular of the men who devoted themselves to this task was Pierre Le Tourneur (1737-1788). To him are due the first complete translations of Young, Ossian, and Shakespeare, and he is the more interesting as a subject for comparison with Prévost in that he took it upon himself to bring out a translation of *Clarissa* which should be more faithful to the original than Prévost's version.<sup>23</sup>

The first important work of Le Tourneur was the translation of Young's *Night Thoughts*. The Comte de Bissy, who had already made a translation of part of the poem, had regretted the necessity of suppressing "beaucoup de traits gigantesques, obscurs ou de mauvais goût."<sup>24</sup> Le Tourneur's practice was

<sup>23</sup> No detailed study of Le Tourneur's translation of *Clarissa* has been made. It appears, however, from such examination as I have been able to make, that Le Tourneur has translated the whole novel, without permitting himself Prévost's liberty in the matter of omissions. Moreover, he has corrected a large number of Prévost's mistakes in translation. Although some of the more highly colored passages are toned down, this version is a much more accurate representation of the original than Prévost's version and certainly more accurate than any of Le Tourneur's other essays in translation. That is to be explained partly by the fact that this was Le Tourneur's last work, and partly by the fact that Richardson by this time (1785) had become a classic. The public was already in possession of a very satisfactory French adaptation of Richardson; there might be room, however, for a really faithful rendering of his masterpiece. It is interesting to note that no reprinting of Le Tourneur's version seems to have been called for.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas, p. 523.

much the same. In his *Discours Préliminaire*, he expounds his method of translation in this manner:

J'ai tâché de traduire aussi littéralement que j'ai pu, à raison de mon talent et de la différence du génie des deux langues. Quand il m'est venu quelque idée qui pourrait servir de liaison aux autres, quelque épithète qui complétait une image, la rendait plus lumineuse, ou donnait plus d'harmonie au style, j'ai cru que c'était mon droit de l'employer. S'il était vrai que j'eusse quelquefois embelli l'original, ce serait une bonne fortune dont je lui rends tout l'honneur. Je ne la devrais qu'au sentiment dont il me pénétrait. Quand notre langue résistait à l'expression anglaise, j'ai traduit l'idée; et quand l'idée conservait encore un air trop étranger aux nôtres, j'ai traduit le sentiment.<sup>25</sup>

Let us see how he has applied these principles. In the first place, he omits a certain amount of material, or relegates it to the notes, notably unorthodox statements in regard to religion and whatever seemed to him "bizarre, trivial, mauvais, répété," and the like.<sup>26</sup> In the second place, he has completely rearranged the material contained in the poem, and out of the nine books of Young he has made twenty-four. It is no mere redivision, but a total rearrangement. Le Tourneur objected to the fact that Young did not take up one subject at a time and dispose of it for good and all, that he would sometimes come back to the same subject again and again, perhaps in each of the nine *Nights*. Le Tourneur set himself the task of putting together all related material, so as to make a number of finished and orderly essays in place of the splendid disorder of Young.<sup>27</sup> Finally, he cannot be said to have translated well or faithfully what he did translate. M. Thomas says in regard to this:

On voit que le premier interprète français des *Nuits* dans leur ensemble les a singulièrement atténuées, et que la prose énergique tant vantée chez lui écarte pourtant toutes les expressions concrètes un peu hardies du texte, pour en donner une paraphrase incolore en style pompeux, il est vrai, mais dépourvu de précision et de pittoresque.<sup>28</sup>

Much the same is to be said of Le Tourneur's translation of Ossian. M. Van Tieghem, after a detailed study of this version, thus sums up his conclusions:

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Cushing, p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> Cushing, pp. 59-61.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas, pp. 527-29.

<sup>28</sup> P. 532.

Le Tourneur supprime, ajoute, transpose, paraphrase, réduit; évite le concret, le coloré, le brusque, l'elliptique, le particulier, le poétique, et prodigue le convenu, l'élégant, l'abstrait; arrondit les angles du discours et substitue au rythme coupé de l'anglais un nombre ample et oratoire.<sup>29</sup>

By the time that Le Tourneur undertook his version of Shakespeare, the popularity of English literature had grown considerably, and a new idea of good taste had made some headway, so that the translator felt free to follow the original more closely. Even now, however, he felt that "Il y a souvent des métaphores et des expressions qui, rendues mot à mot dans notre langue seraient basses ou ridicules, lorsqu'elles sont nobles dans l'original."<sup>30</sup> The result of the desire to render the English into French which is no less "noble" is that "figures and metaphors are changed, coarse expressions softened, paraphrase is employed, words and phrases inserted, occasional sentences, paragraphs, and plays upon words are omitted or explained in a note."<sup>31</sup>

It would be easy to multiply examples. Desfontaines and La Place shamelessly disfigure *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones*. Madame Riccoboni leaves out fully half of *Amelia*, and de Puisieux, although more literal, is not much more faithful.<sup>32</sup> Of the first translator of *Tristram Shandy* it is said: "De peur de choquer les lecteurs Français mutila son texte et en dénatura tellement le sens, que son *Tristram Shandy* avait plutôt le caractère d'une imitation que celui d'une traduction."<sup>33</sup>

There was an occasional voice, such as that of Grimm or Diderot,<sup>34</sup> raised in protest against this practice, but such objections are exceptional. The typical attitude is that of d'Alembert, who urges the translator to emulate rather than to copy the author whom he is translating.<sup>35</sup> What was expected of a translator was not a scrupulously faithful rendering of the sense of his original, but an adaptation which should bring his production into conformity with French standards of decency and order.

<sup>29</sup> *Ossian en France*, 330.

<sup>30</sup> *Avis sur cette Traduction*, quoted in Cushing, p. 222.

<sup>31</sup> Cushing, p. 226.

<sup>32</sup> *Texte*, p. 176.

<sup>33</sup> Barton, p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> "Eloge de Richardson," in *Clarisse*, I, 28; *Correspondence littéraire*, II, 260.

<sup>35</sup> *Oeuvres*, XII, 15-16.



## CHAPTER II

## GENERAL ACCOUNT OF PRÉVOST'S TRANSLATIONS

*Pamela* appeared in London in November, 1740, and had a great success, passing through four editions in six months. In January, 1742, John Osborne, one of the original publishers, issued the first French translation. Whether or not this is the work of Prévost is a matter of some doubt. It was included in the *Oeuvres choisies* some forty years later, and most critics have taken it for granted that this translation is due to Prévost as those of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison* undoubtedly are. M. Texte says that Prévost performed the task with the assistance of Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois, basing his statement upon references to the *Biographie générale* and to Hauréau's *Histoire littéraire du Maine*.<sup>1</sup> These works agree, however, in attributing the translation of *Pamela* to Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois without any qualification. This attribution is supported by the fact that Prévost nowhere refers to his translation of *Pamela*. In the introduction to his translation of *Sir Charles Grandison*, after praising the genius of Richardson, he says: "Je n'ai pas cru mon temps mal employé à faire pour son Grandisson, ce que j'ai fait assez heureusement pour sa Clarisse." (*Grandisson*, I, ix.) If Prévost had translated *Pamela*, it seems likely that he would have mentioned that too.

I have found no contemporary reference which is decisive. Prévost is called vaguely the translator of Richardson, but never the translator of *Pamela*. HARRISSE quotes a letter of 1742 which ascribes the translation to an Englishman with an imperfect command of French, a judgment which argues a sad incompetence on the part of that critic if Prévost be indeed the translator.

<sup>1</sup> Texte, p. 193.

A further consideration which makes it unlikely that Prévost translated *Pamela* is this: the method of translation in this case differs considerably from Prévost's method in dealing with Richardson's later novels. As will appear later, in turning those novels into French, Prévost altered with a free hand and omitted long passages which he thought would displease his readers. The translator of *Pamela* translated the novel in its entirety, omitting nothing of importance, even from the phenomenally dull continuation.

The evidence is perhaps not decisive, but certainly there is no proof that Prévost is the author of the translation. On the other hand, Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois may well have been the translator. He was the kind of hack writer who would have been likely to do such work, and his *Lettres amusantes et critiques sur les romans* indicate that he knew English. In any case, it is a question which we need not attempt to decide. This study is based upon the translations of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, where extensive alterations have been made, and we shall refer to the French version of *Pamela* only occasionally for the sake of comparison.

The translation of *Clarissa* appeared in 1751. It seems clear that Prévost undertook the work without consulting Richardson. The latter was at this time preparing the fourth edition of *Clarissa*, with its "deferred Restorations" of material that had been omitted for the sake of brevity. He wrote to a French friend, a M. Defreval, to inquire into the state of the forthcoming French edition and to suggest that this new material be incorporated into the translation. "When a writer is living, methinks it is pity he should not be consulted whether he has any assistances or alterations to contribute, for the translator's own sake."<sup>2</sup>

Prévost presented his translation of *Sir Charles Grandison* for permission to print on March 29, 1753. Since the first four volumes of the English version were not published until November, it seems probable that Prévost made use of the pirated

<sup>2</sup> January 20, 1750, O. S. Barbauld, *Correspondence*, V, 271-72.

Dublin edition, or of a manuscript copy. Permission to print seems to have been refused, for the work appeared only the following year, and without license.<sup>3</sup>

In both of these cases Prévost has altered very boldly the novels he is translating. From his version of *Clarissa* he omits a great number of details which he finds shocking or dull, and even whole episodes and whole series of letters. The importance of the omissions lies not in their length, for the material omitted does not amount to one-tenth of the novel; it is in their indication of what French taste, as Prévost understood it, found unacceptable. In translating *Sir Charles Grandison*, Prévost has permitted himself even greater liberties, as may be inferred from the fact that he has entirely rewritten the *dénouement* (XII, 461-74; *Grandisson*, VIII, 202-95).<sup>4</sup> Except in this instance, he has added nothing, but he has kept only so much of the original as suited his taste, and the translation is scarcely half the length of the original.

Before we discuss Prévost's attempts to bring the work of Richardson into conformity with French taste, it will be well to consider briefly some minor questions in regard to the translations.

It is worthy of remark, in the first place, that the translations are full of errors. This is true not only in the case of *Pamela* but also in the case of the later versions which are unquestionably due to Prévost. Prévost knew English well, to be sure, but not perfectly,<sup>5</sup> and his work was done so hastily that he had no time for careful revision. Le Tourneur, in the preface to his translation of *Clarissa*, notes this. After announcing that he has restored the passages omitted by Prévost, and that, unlike

<sup>3</sup> HARRISSE, pp. 379-81. The last four volumes of the translation were not published, however, until 1758. See Grimm, *Correspondence littéraire*, II, 260, and the *Année littéraire* (1758), IV, 3-20.

<sup>4</sup> References in the text not otherwise designated are to *The Works of Samuel Richardson* (London, 1884); references to the French translations are to the novels by name.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, his letter to Thieriot, quoted in HARRISSE, pp. 253-54.

Prévost, he follows the revised and complete edition of *Clarissa*, he says: "D'ailleurs en le suivant, on serait tombé dans une foule de contresens, d'obscurités, de négligences, qui accusent la précipitation de son travail."<sup>6</sup>

Certainly at times the translation does not make sense at all, and often the sense is very different from that of the English text. There are cases in which there is an excuse for misunderstanding the involutions and intricacies of Richardson's style, but generally that excuse can hardly be pleaded. Again and again the translator passes over an expression, satisfied if it makes sense at all, careless whether it makes the sense its author intended. To give anything like a complete list of such errors would be futile, but an example or two from each of the translations may be illuminating.

Nan, said she . . . pull off madam's shoes and bring them to me. I have taken care of her others. (I, 123.)

. . . J'ai eu bien d'autres qu'elle sous ma garde. (*Paméla*, I, 240.)

Between you and your lady, you make a wretched figure of me, that's certain.—And yet, 'tis *taking my part*, with a p—x to you, Mr. B——! I would have said, but on your lady's account. (II, 280.)

Entre vous et votre femme, il est certain que vous faites un vilain portrait de ma figure. Je pourrais cependant dire, Monsieur B——, que c'est la fruit d'une débauche à laquelle vous avez pris part. Mais à cause de votre femme . . . (*Paméla*, III, 201.)

What a hard thing it would be, if one could not beat down all the arguments a *rebel* child (how loth I am to write down that word of Miss Clary Harlowe!) can bring in behalf of her obstinacy! (IV, 202.)

Il serait bien surprenant qu'on ne pût renverser tous les beaux arguments par lesquels un *enfant rebelle* veut soutenir son obstination. Vous voyez que j'ai une sorte de répugnance à vous donner le nom de *Miss Clary Harlowe*. (*Clarisse*, II, 162.)

I think I could not bear that!—Don't mind this great blot—Forgive it—It *would* fall—My pen found it, before I saw it. (IX, 371.)

C'est un malheur que je ne soutiendrais pas. Oubliez ce que je viens d'écrire. Je demande grâce pour cette faiblesse. Elle est sortie de ma plume, avant que je m'en suis aperçue. (*Grandisson*, II, 237.)

In other instances Prévost is deliberately unfaithful to the original; he frequently omits the scraps of learning with which Richardson adorns his writing. Richardson was not a man of

<sup>6</sup> I, p. xi.

great erudition; he knew no language save his own, and even in English his reading was not wide.<sup>7</sup> He liked, however, to make a display of such information as he possessed. His characters are represented to us as persons of prodigious learning for their station in life and their sex. They constantly illustrate their points with references to English classics, or to works which Richardson considered such. They cannot very well be made to quote Greek or Latin, but they refer learnedly to Syrian kings and Roman emperors. In times of special stress, they sometimes write poetry. Pamela, in daily danger of rape, comforts herself by altering the one hundred and thirty-ninth psalm to suit her case. Clarissa, distracted with opium and horror after her disgrace, finds some expression for her feelings in the scraps of poetry which she recalls.

In general, Prévost dispenses with this sort of ornament. A man of wide learning himself (a doubtful tradition has it that he composed a volume of *Gallia Romana*), he was able to see that such "beauties" were defects rather than added graces. Lovelace's first letter (IV, 182-191) shows Prévost's method in this respect. In a letter ten pages long, there are seven quotations from poetry. Three of these are of some length—five to ten lines—the others are only lines or couplets. The shorter quotations Prévost retains, for it would have been perhaps more trouble to recast the sentences than to translate them as they stand. One of the longer quotations he retains, for it is given as expressing Lovelace's own feelings. But a little later Lovelace quotes a passage from Cowley in regard to the relativity of beauty. He has just given a couplet from Dryden to the same effect, and the only purpose of it all is to permit him to say that if these poets had known Clarissa, they would have been of a different opinion. Prévost omits the quotation from Cowley, as well as ten lines of Shakespeare, intended to express the sum of Clarissa's virtues. (*Clarisse*, II, 124-43.)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See Poetzsche, *Richardsons Belesenheit*.

<sup>8</sup> For various literary and historical allusions omitted by Prévost, see VI, 121; VII, 82; X, 267; XI, 160; *Clarisse*, VIII, 191; XI, 215; *Grandisson* V, 21; VI, 82.

There is another sort of alteration which Prévost makes in order to spare the patriotic susceptibilities of his readers. Richardson occasionally permits himself insulting remarks about France. Such passages, if they are retained, are rendered less offensive. Lovelace, recounting a liaison with a French woman, says: "The husband [was] irreconcilable; in every respect unfit for a husband, even for a *French* one—made perhaps, more delicate to these particulars by the customs of a people among whom he was then resident (the Spanish), so contrary to those of his own countrymen" (VI, 197). Prévost translates the passage thus: "Le mari, moins propre à la qualité de mari qu'aucun homme de sa nation, et devenu plus délicat peut-être par son commerce avec les Espagnols, promet de loin une éclatante vengeance" (*Clarisse*, IX, 107-8).

In another case, Prévost has removed the offensive quality of the phrase more completely. Clarissa, when she learns of one of Lovelace's devices, asks, "Did he learn this infamous practice of corrupting the servants of other families at the French court, where he resided a good deal?" (IV, 394). Prévost gives the phrase a vaguer turn: "A-t-il pris cet infâme usage, de corrompre les domestiques d'autrui, dans les cours étrangères, où il a résidé assez longtemps?" (*Clarisse*, III, 138-39).

The translator of *Pamela* is somewhat more liberal, and reproduces literally an insulting passage in one of the letters prefixed to that book:

Petit livre, charmante PAMELA . . . tu pourras servir de modèle aux écrivains d'une nation voisine, qui auront l'occasion maintenant de recevoir de bon argent sterling, à la place de la fausse monnaie qui a eu si longtemps cours parmi nous dans des pièces où l'on ne trouve que la légèreté de cette inconstante nation" (*Paméla*, I, xii).

Prévost is careful also to modify reflections upon the Roman Catholic religion, although in such cases his alterations do not go so far as might be expected. For example, Sir Charles, in giving an account of the malady of Clementina, says, "It came out afterwards, that her confessor, taking advantage of confessions extorted from her of regard for her tutor, though only such as a sister might bear to a brother, but which he had

suspected might come to be of consequence, had filled her tender mind with terrors, that had thus affected her head" (X, 236). Prévost modifies the passage to read thus: "On a su depuis, que son confesseur, alarmé mal à propos pour sa religion, par quelques aveux qui regardaient le précepteur anglais, avait rempli cette âme tendre de terreurs qui avaient affecté sa tête" (*Grandisson*, IV, 187).

Again, in setting forth his objections to the demands of Clementina's family, Sir Charles says, "Satisfied in my own faith; entirely satisfied! Having insuperable objections to that I was wished to embrace!—A lover of my native country too—Were not my God and my country to be the sacrifice, if I complied!" (X, 238.) Prévost omits only the reference to his "insuperable objections" to Catholicism: "Persuadé, comme je le suis, de la vérité de ma religion; attaché par mille raisons, au lieu de ma naissance, pouvais-je me rendre sans faire le double sacrifice de mon Dieu et de ma patrie!" (*Grandisson*, IV, 192.)

Prévost does not, however, insist that Sir Charles be so accomplished a theologian as Richardson has him. In the original, Clementina's brother, the Bishop of Nocera, leads Sir Charles into a debate upon the two religions, "supposing he should have some advantages in the argument, which he met not with" (X, 303). In the French version, the incident is slightly changed: "Il se jeta sur quelques points de religion, dans lesquels je refusai longtemps de m'engager; et mes réponses furent moins celles d'un théologien, que d'un homme d'honneur qui s'en tient à sa persuasion" (*Grandisson*, V, 59).

It would be possible somewhat to increase the list of changes of this sort. But while not without significance, such changes do not go far toward altering the original. If Prévost had permitted himself no greater freedom, his translations would have been, in that age, unparalleled for fidelity. Prévost was influenced, however, by the spirit of his time and country; he found much in Richardson that was not in harmony with that spirit; and he set out to bring the undisciplined art of the English writer into conformity with pseudo-classical taste. The alterations undertaken to this end we shall discuss in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER III

## RICHARDSON AND THE LAWS OF GOOD TASTE

The most significant alterations introduced by Prévost into his translations are the result of fundamental differences between French and English taste at that time. France during the eighteenth century was suffering from a severe attack of literary gentility, like that against which Molière had once directed his mockery. The laws of good taste were set forth with meticulous particularity, and a writer had better have faced a *lettre-de-cachet* than have offended against them. The Bastille would hold him at the worst only so long as he lived; this offense would imperil his immortality.

The result of this insistence upon good taste was that when the eyes of the French public began to turn beyond the Channel, critics and translators deemed it necessary to effect certain changes in English books before offering them to the French reader. That was not true in all cases; there were a few, like Diderot, who swallowed their Richardson whole, a few, like Turgot, who did not shrink from a literal translation of Ossian. But in general it was assumed that an English author was not acceptable in France until he had submitted to what Austin Dobson calls "a gentle gallicising of his 'parts of speech'," until what was too luxuriant and undisciplined in the English genius had been trimmed and pruned into chaste conformity with the rules of French taste. That anything was sacrificed to this ideal of neatness and order seems not to have occurred to the translators of the day, and learned critics assured La Place that Shakespeare, had he been alive, would have been the first to thank him for his mutilated classical "improvements" upon *Othello* and *Macbeth*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Opuscules de Fréron*, I, 245.



Of the rules of good taste there were three that concern us here. The first forbade all that was low or common, either in incident or in language. The second forbade extravagance in language, and the use of figures that were too startling or too novel. The third proscribed the presentation of any too violent or affecting scene, and particularly of any violent death.

It is true that these rules were applied much more strictly to the drama than to the other forms of literature, and except in that application it is perhaps hardly exact to refer to them as rules; but they were everywhere principles which at least guided preference. For the same reasons that Voltaire takes exception to Shakespeare, he finds Satan's meeting with Death and Sin offensive to good taste.<sup>2</sup> For the same reasons, he objects to Goldsmith and La Fontaine as low.<sup>3</sup>

The tone of the literature of the period was set by the "good society" to which it was addressed, and the delicacy of good society was very easily shocked. Voltaire exclaims against an early satire of Boileau: "S'il avait vécu alors dans la bonne compagnie, elle lui aurait conseillé d'exercer son talent sur des objets plus dignes d'elle que des chats, des rats, et des souris."<sup>4</sup> Ducis thinks it necessary to call policemen "ces mortels dont l'Etat gage la vigilance."<sup>5</sup> In this jargon of gentility, bread becomes "l'aliment qu'on accorde à la simple existence,"<sup>6</sup> a watch-dog is "l'espèce qui fait sentinelle," and a nurse is addressed thus:

"Sur moi, dès le berceau, tu veillais, chère Hermance,  
Et c'est toi, de ton lait, qui soutins mon enfance."<sup>7</sup>

The delicacy of French taste was not often puritanical; the French have the reputation of accepting without cavil what Mr. Saintsbury calls "sculdudery," and those who look into the "merry tales" of Crébillon fils or of Restif de la Bretonne will not find them disappointingly conventional. The writer had the liberty of saying what he pleased, if he said it in the language

<sup>2</sup> Saintsbury, *History of Criticism*, II, 516.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 518.

<sup>4</sup> *Oeuvres*, XIX, 277.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Jusserand, p. 433.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 425.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 433.

of good society; the public was less critical of immorality than of vulgarity.

English literature of the eighteenth century contained much that was not at all hostile to the principles of taste professed in France. Addison and Pope and a host of lesser men were more or less consistently believers in the gospel according to Boileau; the work of such men was acceptable in France without much revision. But Richardson did not belong to that school; he did not write according to the models, for there were no models for what he was doing. Furthermore, he was ignorant of the classics, and he had never lived in good society; he had nothing, therefore, by which to form his taste. He was sometimes extravagant and unrestrained, and he was frequently low. In presenting the works of such an author to the French public, Prévost felt the necessity of making certain alterations in order to avoid alienating the reader.

Like most of the translators of the period, Prévost is quite frank in regard to his procedure. In the preface to his version of *Clarissa*, he says:

Par le droit suprême de tout écrivain qui cherche à plaire dans sa langue naturelle, j'ai changé ou supprimé ce que je n'ai pas jugé conforme à cette vue. Ma crainte n'est pas qu'on m'accuse d'un excès de rigueur. Depuis vingt ans que la littérature anglaise est connue à Paris, on sait que, pour s'y faire naturaliser, elle a souvent besoin de ces petites réparations (*Clarisse*, I, 8).

But before proceeding to examine Prévost's alterations of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, let us see what was done by the anonymous translator of *Pamela*. The chief reproach to be urged against that book from the standpoint of French taste is vulgarity. The heroine, although she has been educated above her station in life, is nevertheless little better than a servant girl, and many traces of her origin are still to be detected in her language. Her speech is pungent, with a plebeian raciness, full of unconventional figures and naïve comparisons. Unincisive and rambling and nerveless as Richardson always is, his style in this instance has an unschooled charm, which depends upon freshness rather than upon elegance.

The translation does not altogether reproduce that charm. Pamela's direct and vigorous expressions are frequently replaced by vaguer and more correct and more elegant locutions which lack the force of the original. Pamela writes, "You must know he is reckoned worth a power of money." (I, 39.) The translator renders it thus: "Or vous saurez qu'on le croit extrêmement riche." (*Paméla*, I, 77.) Pamela says, "But say nothing of my coming away to him, as yet; for it will be said that I blab everything." (I, 32.) That is translated as follows: "Mais au moins ne lui dites pas que je m'en vais, car on dirait que je divulgue tout." (*Paméla*, I, 62.) "His vices all ugly him over, as I may say," (I, 220) becomes "Ses vices le rendent affreux à mes yeux." (*Paméla*, II, 182.) "Cease your blubbing" (I, 16) is translated thus: "Cessez de pleurer comme un enfant." (*Paméla*, I, 30.) "If you don't stand in your own light," (I, 15) becomes "Si tu ne t'oppose pas toi-même à ton bonheur." (*Paméla*, I, 28-29.) "I have been and am, in a strange fluster; and I suppose too, she'll say, I have been full pert." (I, 58.) "J'ai été et je suis encore dans un trouble extrême, et je m'imagine qu'elle me dira que j'ai été trop hardie." (*Paméla*, I, 120.)

It would be easy to infer too much from evidence like this; words have different connotations in different languages, and expressions that belong to the stable in one country may be acceptable in the drawing-room in another. Allowance should be made, too, for the difficulties of adequately rendering in one language the idiom of another. In some of the cases cited, the translator may have given the most faithful translation that occurred to him. But although that may be true in any particular instance, the variety of evidence indicates that the translator endeavored to remove what he considered crudities, in order to make the novel more acceptable to cultivated taste.

Besides altering those things that are, or seem to be, actually inelegant, the translator of *Pamela* dresses up the style of Richardson in another respect, by adding to it certain conventional graces. He undertakes to do away with some of the

matter-of-factness of Richardson, and to give him a more courtly air. In the French version a bed is "un chaste lit" and a bow, "une profonde révérence"; a kiss becomes "mille baisers," or it is given "avec transport" or "avec une ardeur incroyable."<sup>8</sup>

In translating *Clarissa*, Prévost was guided by the same principles in regard to vulgarity as the translator of *Pamela*, but the application of these principles was different. *Clarissa* is older and more mature than *Pamela*; she comes of a higher rank in society, and she is possessed of extraordinary erudition. Intent as he was on making his people write in character, Richardson was bound to make a great difference between the letters of *Pamela* and those of *Clarissa*. As for Lovelace, he is adorned by all the graces except the moral ones, and his letters represent Richardson's idea of the manner in which a very fine gentleman would write. As a result, there is in *Clarissa* little of the plebeian pungency which the translator found distasteful in *Pamela*. That is equally true in the case of *Sir Charles Grandison*. In some respects, then, less alteration is necessary in the style of these books in order to suit French taste.

Even in these books, however, there are details to which Prévost takes exception as vulgar. There are passages which are too frankly physical for Prévost's taste.<sup>9</sup> It was remarked at the time that although Richardson trumpeted the praises of virtue, he nevertheless lingered voluptuously over his pictures of vice; and perhaps modern psychologists would see in Lovelace and Sir Hargrave Pollexfen the expression of the author's inhibited desires. It is not that his villains are any more wicked than villains usually are in fiction, or that they do anything which villains are not supposed to do; but Richardson always explains very definitely what they are trying to do. In those scenes in which his heroines narrowly escape ruin, as they are always doing, he tells exactly where the ravisher puts his hand, and exactly how much of the heroine's body is visible. In such

<sup>8</sup> For various illustrations see I, 289, II, 18, 146, 154; in French, *Paméla*, III, 3, IV, 12-13, 277, 294.

<sup>9</sup> It is worth noting that such passages in *Pamela* are invariably translated.

scenes, Prévost, who perhaps suffered less from suppressed desires, leaves more to the imagination. For example, after a false alarm of fire had gained for Lovelace something more than a glimpse of Clarissa in her nightdress, he writes thus to Belford: "We had both already forgotten the occasion . . . which had thrown her into my arms; I, from the joy of encircling the almost disrobed body of the loveliest of her sex . . ." (VI, 284.) The passage is thus translated: "Nous avons déjà perdu tous deux le souvenir du terrible danger qui l'avait jetée entre mes bras; moi du transport de ma joie. . ." (*Clarisse*, X, 9.) On the same occasion, Lovelace gives a glowing description of Clarissa: "Never saw I polished ivory so beautiful as her arms and shoulders; never touched I velvet so soft as her skin: her virgin bosom—! O Belford, she is all perfection! then such an elegance!" (VI, 290.) In French he is much less specific: "Cette aventure m'a fait découvrir mille nouveaux sujets d'extravagance et d'idolâtrie. Ah, Belford, Clarisse est un composé de toutes les perfections." (*Clarisse*, X, 22.)

In other ways, too, the language of Lovelace often shocks the delicacy of French taste. In his letters to Belford, he recalls other adventures with women, or makes generalizations based upon his wide experience, in a tone to which it is easy to object. He talks coarsely about love, and speaks constantly of its physical aspects. Prévost, not so conventionally moral in his life as Richardson, is better bred, and he finds such passages distasteful.<sup>10</sup>

There is another kind of vulgarity which appears from time to time in *Clarissa*. When Richardson has to present an illiterate person, he makes him illiterate. He would not have understood Voltaire's strictures upon the speech of the sentry in *Hamlet*: "Not a mouse stirring." "Doubtless," says Voltaire, "a soldier may speak thus in a guard-house; but not on the stage before the

<sup>10</sup> Note Lovelace's discussion of Hickman as a "male virgin" (VI, 413), omitted by Prévost (*Clarisse*, X, 247); and Lovelace's account of one of his earlier amours (VI, 250) omitted by Prévost (*Clarisse*, IX, 198). Sometimes even Clarissa's language is too coarse for Prévost. He ignores her alarm in regard to ". . . the marriage Intimacies (permit me to say to you, my friend, what the purest, although with apprehension, must think of) so very intimate" (V, 380; *Clarisse*, VII, 17).

first persons of the nation, who express themselves with nobleness and before whom he must express himself in the same manner."<sup>11</sup> Richardson feels differently; if he puts into his collection a letter from an ignorant valet, the letter will be, as nearly as he can make it, such a letter as that valet would actually write, without regard to the elegance of possible readers. Prévost is closer to the attitude of Voltaire than to that of Richardson. In only one case of this sort does he attempt to follow the tone of the original. The letter of Mr. Solmes to Clarissa (IV, 376) is written in the coarsest and most incorrect language; Prévost has reproduced it with corresponding faults in French (*Clarisse*, III, 109-10). The reason for this deviation from his usual practice is perhaps that Prévost wished to retain the ugly and unattractive features of Solmes, so as to make plausible Clarissa's unqualified loathing of him.

In other cases, however, the language which is appropriate to boors and valets is altered to bring it within the bounds of French decorum. The valet must talk as correctly as his master, although he may talk more simply. He is not expected to express such noble sentiments nor such profound reflections as his master's, but he must not sin any more than his master against the law which forbade anything not "noble."

The first of these illiterate letters which Prévost alters is that of Joseph Leman, the tool and spy of Lovelace. The following note, with which Prévost introduces his version, will explain his point of view.

L'auteur, s'attachant à garder les caractères, pousse ici la fidélité jusqu'à donner cette lettre avec les fautes de langage et d'orthographe, qui sont ordinaires dans la condition de Leman. Mais le goût de notre nation n'admet point de si grossières peintures. Il suffira de conserver ici un style et des traits de simplicité qui puissent faire connaître un valet" (*Clarisse*, V, 84).

Here is an example of the way in which the change is made:

I love your Honner for contriveing to save mischiff so well. I thought till I knowed your Honner, that you was verry mischevous, and plese your Honner; but find it to be the elene contrary. Your Honner means mighty

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Jusserand, p. 384.

well by everybody, as far as I see. As I am sure I do myself; for I am, althoff a very plaine man, and all that, a very honnest one, I thank my God. And have good principels, and have kept my young lady's pressepts always in mind: for she goes no where, but saves a soul or two, more or less. (V, 145.)

Je serais bien fâché de ne pas vous rendre service quand je vois que vous avez la bonté de ne vouloir faire de mal à personne. J'avais cru, avant que de vous connaître, que vous étiez fort méchant, ne vous déplaie. Mais je trouve qu'il en est tout autrement. Vous êtes franc comme or fin; et même, autant que je le vois, vous ne souhaitez que du bien à tout le monde, comme je le fais aussi; car, quoique je ne sois qu'un pauvre domestique, j'ai la crainte de Dieu et des hommes, et je profite des bons discours et des bons exemples de notre jeune demoiselle, qui ne va nulle part sans sauver une âme ou deux, plus ou moins. (*Clarisse*, V, 85.)

Prévost has hardly made the style of Lemau as correct and as elegant as that of Lovelace, but he has removed from it most of the marks of its origin. The flavor of it is gone with the vulgarity. Another letter of Lemau in the same style (V, 351-55) is summarized by Prévost, so as to retain the essential facts and to avoid the grossness of the presentation (*Clarisse*, VI, 199-202). A letter of Lovelace's valet, Will (VI, 341-42), is translated at length but purged of its vulgarity, and the following note is appended: "Le style de cette lettre est fort grossier dans l'originale; l'imitation serait choquante en français" (*Clarisse*, X, 113).

There is another matter which is made much of by Richardson, and which Prévost finds shocking. One of the varied talents of Lovelace is the ability to imitate to perfection the handwriting of others. He makes use of this talent on various occasions, to deceive both *Clarissa* and Miss Howe. When Miss Howe reveals all his villainy in a letter which he intercepts, he goes to the trouble of writing a reply in *Clarissa's* hand, imploring her presence; but, upon maturer reflection, he decides not to send the letter (VI, 331). Prévost puts the guilt of the letter upon Sally, feeling, perhaps, that forgery is more becoming to a bawd than to a gentleman, no matter how much of a libertine he be (*Clarisse*, X, 98).

After Clarissa's escape, Lovelace, in an effort to conciliate her, forges letters from his aunt and his cousin, congratulating him on his supposed marriage and speaking in the highest terms of his bride (VI, 383-86). These letters are omitted by Prévost, although they are referred to (*Clarisse*, X, 193). The chief example of Lovelace's talent for forgery is the letter which he gives to Clarissa in place of the one in which Miss Howe had revealed his plots (VI, 428-34). This letter Prévost omits, with the following note: "On supprime cette lettre contrefaite, et l'on supprimerait l'action même, si des traits si révoltants ne servaient à prouver que l'ouvrage n'est pas une fiction" (*Clarisse*, XI, 20). However, the letter is mentioned in the French version, and Lovelace himself retains the credit of the counterfeit; in this respect, therefore, Prévost is not altogether consistent. One is justified in concluding, however, that Prévost thought such conduct unbecoming in a gentleman, even the sort of gentleman that Lovelace was. Therefore he is willing to pass over the occurrence as lightly as possible.

Richardson sins against the canons of French taste not only by his vulgarity, but also by his extravagance. Lovelace particularly, in moments of animation, seeks relief for his feelings in fantastic metaphors which Prévost finds objectionable. When his schemes are progressing to his satisfaction, he expresses his joy in this fashion: "I look *down* upon everybody now. Last night I was still more extravagant. I took off my hat, as I walked, to see if the lace were not scorched, supposing it had brushed down a star; and before I put it on again, in mere wantonness and heart's ease, I was for buffeting the moon." (V, 173-74.) Prévost translates this in a chaster style: "Je laisse tomber mes regards sur les autres hommes, du haut de ma grandeur et d'un air de supériorité sensible; ma vanité approche de l'extravagance" (*Clarisse*, V, 138). Not long afterwards, Lovelace gloats over his success in the same strain: "What a matchless plotter thy friend!—Stand by, and let me swell!—I am already as big as an elephant, and ten times wiser!—Mightier too by far!—Have I not reason to snuff the moon with



my proboscis!—Lord help thee for a poor, for a very poor creature!" (V, 316). The translation chastens this in the same way: "Conviens que ton ami est un homme incomparable. Que je te trouve petit, du sommet de ma gloire et de mon excellence" (*Clarisse*, VI, 135).

Clarissa, too, speaks sometimes in the same inflated manner, without the same levity. "My hopes, like opening buds or blossoms in an over-forward spring, have been nipt by a severe frost!—blighted by an eastern wind!—but I can but *once die*" (VII, 425). This figure is omitted by Prévost (*Clarisse*, XII, 234).

Sometimes Richardson's extravagance is that of sentimentality. Lovelace, writing to Belford a description of a girl whom he has befriended, urges him thus:

O Jack! spare thou therefore (for I shall leave thee often alone with her, spare thou) my Rosebud!—Let the rule I never departed from, but it cost me a long regret, be observed to my Rosebud!—never to ruin a poor girl whose simplicity and innocence were all she had to trust to; and whose fortunes were too low to save her from the rude contempts of worse minds than her own, and from an indigence extreme: such a one will only pine in secret; and at last perhaps in order to refuge herself from slanderous tongues and virulence, be induced to tempt some guilty stream, or seek her end in the knee-encircling garter, that peradventure was the first attempt of abandoned love.—No defiances will my Rosebud breathe; no *self*-dependent, *thee*-doubting watchfulness (indirectly challenging thy inventive machinations to do their worst) will she assume. Unsuspicious of her danger, the lamb's throat will hardly shun thy knife!—Oh be not thou the butcher of my lambkin! (IV, 216.)

Prévost's version is much simpler:

Belford! je te le répète, épargne mon Bouton de Rose. Observe, avec elle, une règle que je n'ai jamais violée sans qu'il m'en ait coûté de longs regrets: c'est de ne pas ruiner une pauvre fille, qui n'a d'autre support que sa simplicité et son innocence. Ainsi point d'attaques, point de ruses, pas même d'agaceries. La gorge d'un agneau sans défiance ne se détourne pas pour éviter le couteau. Belford! garde-tou d'Btre le boucher de mon agneau. (*Clarisse*, I, p. 192.)

Even when Prévost has not the excuse of sentimentality, he is likely to omit an expression if it is violently figurative or hyperbolic. Clarissa, shortly after her betrayal, speaks thus of a

letter in which Mrs. Howe had forbidden her to hold further communication with her daughter:

The letter I received from your mother was a dreadful blow to me. But nevertheless it had the good effect upon me (labouring, as I did just then, under a violent fit of vapourish despondency, and almost yielding to it) which profuse bleeding and blisterings have in paralytical or apoplectical strokes; reviving my attention, and restoring me to spirits to combat the evils I was surrounded by—sluicing off, and diverting into a new channel (if I may be allowed another metaphor) the over-charging woes which threatened once more to overwhelm my intellects. (VII, 262.)

Prévost deals with this in his usual fashion, giving the sense of the passage, without the elaborate and involved figures which weigh down and obscure the original:

Celle que je reçus de votre mère fut un coup terrible, qui fit saigner d'abord toutes mes plaies. Cependant je remerciai bientôt le ciel d'un autre effet qu'elle produisit. Au milieu des noires vapeurs qui m'assiégeaient, et dans un excès d'abattement dont je n'espérais plus de me relever, elle eut le pouvoir de réveiller mon attention, et de ranimer mes esprits, pour me faire combattre les maux dont j'étais environnée. (*Clarisse*, XII, 58.)<sup>12</sup>

Another form of extravagance, according to French standards, of which Richardson was guilty, was in the characters of certain persons in his novels. Just as the French public did not want to hear any language but such as was spoken in good society, so it did not care to see represented anyone who would not be acceptable to good society. All the characters must bear the stamp of good breeding. Richardson did not share that ideal, and he liked to introduce into his novels, for the sake of variety or comic relief, odd and unusual people. Lovelace's uncle, Lord M——, is a man not unlike Polonius, stocked with the wisdom of nations and eager to retail it on any occasion. His letters to his nephew are full of good advice, couched in innumerable proverbs. His first letter is retained in the French, but it has had to submit to a smoothing out (VI, 64–69; *Clarisse*, VIII, 136–42). Lord M—— is not made altogether so ridiculous; his

<sup>12</sup> See also Lovelace's account of the murder of his conscience (VI, 490–92), omitted by Prévost (*Clarisse*, XI, 105); and Lovelace's visit to the shop of Mr. Smith (VIII, 73–76), omitted by Prévost. (*Clarisse*, XIII, 105.)

penchant for proverbs is not indulged so freely. A later letter is dealt with in much the same way. All the details that have to do with Lovelace's approaching marriage are retained, but such details as are inserted for the purpose of exhibiting the character of the writer are likely to be omitted. Here is an example of the way in which Prévost alters Lord M——'s manner :

Get into parliament as soon as you can; for you have *talons* to make a great figure there. Who so proper to assist in making new holding laws, as those whom no law in being could hold!

Then, for so long as you will give attendance in St. Stephen's chapel—its being called a chapel, I hope, will not *disgust* you: I am sure I have known many a riot there—a speaker has a hard time of it! but we *peers* have more decorum—but what was I going to say!—I must go back.

For so long as you will give your attendance in Parliament, for so long will you be out of mischief; out of *private* mischief, at least; and may St. Stephen's fate be yours, if you wilfully do *public* mischief! VI, 173.)

Entrez au parlement le plutôt qu'il vous sera possible. Vous avez des talents qui doivent vous faire espérer d'y faire une grande figure. Si quelqu'un est propre à faire des loix capables de subsister, ce sont ceux à qui les anciennes n'ont pu servir de frein. Soyez assidu aux assemblées. Tandis que vous serez dans la chambre du parlement, vous n'aurez pas l'occasion de commettre le mal; ou, du moins, aucun mal qu'on puisse reprocher à vous seul. (*Clarisse*, IX, 78-79.)

The lines of the picture are not altogether blurred over here; some attempt is made to retain a likeness. But the details which make vivid the character of the writer disappear; his pun is ignored, and there is no trace left of his incredible incoherence. The likeness is retouched to make it more decorous.

The same process is carried even further in the case of Sir Rowland Meredith in *Sir Charles Grandison*. Sir Rowland is decidedly not one who belongs to "la bonne compagnie," for he is ill-mannered and ridiculous, although warm-hearted and lovable. He is primarily a figure of comedy. The first appearance of Sir Rowland is at breakfast at the Reeves. He comes to see Harriet, of whom his nephew is enamored, with the intention of pleading his nephew's cause. With the first glimpse of Harriet, his heart is won, and he enters impetuously upon his vicarious wooing without regard to the assembled company.

His praises of his nephew and of Harriet, and his opinions on a variety of subjects are given at considerable length (IX, 36-44). Prévost, after introducing him and telling his purpose, goes on thus:

Ici, ma chère, ne comptez pas que je puisse me rappeler une des plus singulières conversations qui furent jamais. Les questions du vieux gentil-homme, les bons mots de son ami, les fines plaisanteries de sa province, les expressions de sa tendresse pour son neveu et de son admiration pour moi, nous formèrent une scène à laquelle je ne puis rien comparer. (*Grandisson*, I, 47-48.)

There follows only a brief summary of what passed in the conversation. The picture of the old knight is gone; Prévost tells us that he was odd, where Richardson shows us his oddities in action. In the French version we have an outline of what he says, or at least of the result of the conversation, but we have no idea of the way in which he talks, nor of his appearance, nor of his character.

Prévost is more generous to Sir Rowland upon the occasion of his next appearance. But the passage in which the knight's oddities are most clearly set forth is omitted (IX, 86-89). Instead of his arguments and prayers at length, we have only this:

Il m'a interrompue par des exclamations, par des plaintes et des reproches fort tendres, qu'il adressait tantôt à moi, tantôt à M. et Madame Reves. Enfin, m'ayant à peine laissé le temps de répéter que c'était une chose impossible, et que par estime pour son neveu, qui me paraissait en mériter beaucoup, je lui conseillais de l'engager absolument à changer de vues, parce que je n'aimais point à faire le tourment d'un coeur honnête, ses sentiments pour moi se sont échauffés sur cette expression, il s'est laissé emporter par ses regrets, par son admiration et sa tendresse, jusqu'à prendre le ciel à témoin que si je voulais être sa nièce, et lui accorder seulement le plaisir de me voir une fois tous les jours, il se réduirait à cent livres sterling de rente, et m'abandonnerait tout ce qu'il possédait au monde. Ses yeux étaient mouillés de larmes, son visage enflammé, et l'honnêteté brillait sur son visage. (*Grandisson*, I, 77.)

From the final interview between Harriet and Sir Rowland there is no omission of any importance (IX, 104-7). But even where Prévost translates a scene of this sort at length, he imports into it a refinement that does not belong to the original. He is

never willing to go so far as Richardson in the direction of oddity. Here is an example of the way in which the manner of Sir Rowland is changed in the French:

Repeat what? Don't say a refusal. Dear madam, don't say a refusal! Will you not save a life? Why, madam, my poor boy is absolutely and *bona fide* broken-hearted. I would have had him come with me: but, no, he could not bear to tease the beloved of his soul! Why, there's an instance of love now! Not for all his hopes, not for his life's sake, could he bear to tease you! None of your fluttering Jack-a-dandys, now, would have said this! And let not such succeed, where modest merit fails!—Mercy! you are struck with my plea! Don't, don't, God bless you, now, don't harden your heart on my observation. I was resolved to set out in a day or two: but I will stay in town, were it a month, to see my boy made happy. And, let me tell you, I would not wish him to be happy unless he could make you so—Come, come— (IX, 105).

Quoi! m'a-t-il dit, un refus? Ah, ma chère Miss! gardez-vous en effet de répéter vos cruels discours; ne voulez-vous pas sauver une vie? mon pauvre neveu est réellement à la mort. Je voulais vous l'amener; mais non, il craint trop de déplaire à la souveraine de son coeur. Connaissez-vous un amour si tendre? et ne fait-on rien pour l'amour, quand on ne trouverait rien d'engageant dans le mérite et la modestie? Chère Miss, n'endurcissez pas votre coeur. J'étais résolu de partir dans un ou deux jours; mais je ne quitterai pas la ville, fallût-il y demeurer un mois, pour être témoin du bonheur de mon neveu; et quand je souhaite le sien, comptez que c'est pour faire le votre. Chère Miss, rendez-vous. (*Grandisson*, I, 100.)

The most significant instance of this sort, however, is the treatment accorded by Prévost to Charlotte Grandison. Charlotte is of the same sisterhood with Lady Davers, the vile-tempered and sharp-tongued sister of Mr. B——, and with the sprightly and impertinent Miss Howe. These are designed as foils to their sedater friends, but they are not merely that, nor by any means examples of what a woman should not be. Their sharp wits and unbridled tongues sometimes lead them farther than they should go; they sometimes err and give their meeker and less imperfect friends opportunities to offer them the sagest and soundest advice; but generally their liveliness is only an added charm. They are not perfect themselves, but they have the inestimable merit of recognizing perfection in their friends.

Charlotte Grandison is the most carefully drawn example of this type of feminine excellence. That she is good goes without

saying. She is the sister of Sir Charles, and even if she had been endowed by nature with the most perverse and wicked inclinations, association with her brother could not have failed to reclaim her. But she has certain traits that sometimes obscure her virtues. She is represented to us as extraordinarily witty, and it is impossible for her to resist the temptation to exercise her wit upon everyone that comes in her way, except always her divine brother. He is spared only because he can, we are told, easily defeat her with her own weapons. Her tongue leads her many times into saying things that sound strange enough now, and certainly shocked horribly the good parents of 1760. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote to her daughter: "Charlotte behaves like a humorsome child, and should have been used like one, and well whipped in the presence of her friendly confidante Harriet. . . . Charlotte acts with an ingratitude that I think too black for human nature, with such coarse jokes and low expressions as are only to be heard among the lowest class of people."<sup>13</sup> Even Miss Talbot, one of Richardson's own circle of feminine admirers, admitted that "her ladyship richly deserved two or three hearty beatings and kickings which the Bishop of Oxford did most heartily wish her."<sup>14</sup>

A character that shocked Lady Mary was not likely to meet with the approval of Prévost, and his treatment of Charlotte expresses very definitely his feeling. He cuts down considerably the space allotted to her story. The main facts of her wooing by Lord B—— and her tempestuous wedded life are retained, but only in outline. We are informed of most of the things that happen to Charlotte, but we do not see them happening, and we do not see how she conducts herself in the various situations in which she is involved. Her part in the novel is restricted to her relations with Harriet. Even where Prévost retains a scene in which Charlotte appears, he alters her character; he fails to reproduce the peculiar quality of her conversation, its breeziness, its nonchalance, and its boisterous gaiety.

<sup>13</sup> *Letters*, 466.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in Dobson, p. 159.

We come now to a consideration of alterations that are governed by a somewhat different principle, the rule of decorous restraint. French taste at that period condemned the representation of any scene in such a fashion as to move too strongly the emotions. Merriment was obliged to be not too riotous, and even distress was expected to be comely and decent. This did not arise out of any distaste for horrors and distresses as such. Ducis, for example, in his adaptations of Shakespeare for the French stage, borrows from Dante to add a touch of gloom to *Romeo and Juliet*, and makes old Montague devour the flesh of his children. But Montague does not enjoy this banquet before the eyes of the spectators, and if he had been intended for death, he would have moved off into the coulisse to be stabbed or beheaded out of sight, in a seemly fashion, as Julius Caesar does in Ducis' version. The French audience was not averse to atrocities, but it demanded a veil before them. Thus Cleveland, the most popular and the most gloomy of Prévost's heroes, suffers misfortunes no less overwhelming in their way than those of Clarissa. The infidelity of his wife is as great a grief to him as the loss of her virtue is to Clarissa; but there is a striking difference in the manner in which the two episodes are treated. Cleveland is telling his own story after many years; he must have come through somehow, we know; and even when he goes into the arbor determined to end his life, the reader is not unduly alarmed. It is difficult to write an account of one's own suicide, and besides, there are two or three thick volumes still to read. Even the most improvident of authors will hardly sacrifice his hero before the book is half-finished, and one has a comfortable feeling that it will all come out right.

In the case of Richardson's heroines, the situation is very different. What we are reading is not their memoirs—"recollected in tranquillity"—but letters written "to the moment" and at the moment of their distress, while they are as ignorant of the outcome as we are. We see Clarissa at the height of her affliction; the scraps of paper she scribbles in the disorder of her "sweet intellects" are put before our eyes. It is what she suffers

then, not what she or someone else remembers twenty years after, of which we are the spectators. That makes possible a different method of presentation. It renders appropriate a more energetic tone, more vivid colors, the directer language of passion.

Prévost does not, it is needless to say, make over the novels of Richardson into something like *Cleveland*. He does not, wherever he comes upon a scene of distress painted in vivid colors, omit it or alter it so as to remove that vividness. But there are enough cases where he does just that to leave no doubt of his taste; the direction in which he makes his changes is away from English unrestraint toward the French ideal of decency and order. There is much left in the French version that Prévost would have been unlikely to put in if he had been the author; but there is much less than there is in the original. And the passages which Prévost omits are those on which Richardson spent most care, those in which he depicted grief and affliction most touchingly.

The first case of this sort to be considered is that of the series of 'papers' which Clarissa writes immediately after her betrayal, while she is still suffering from the effects of opium and overwhelmed by the realization of what has happened. In this situation, she finds some expression for her feelings in writing frenzied reproaches to Lovelace and frenzied apologies to her family. These 'papers' are the spontaneous outflowing of an unsettled mind; they are extravagant in language and disordered in form (VII, 58-63). Immediately thereafter is printed a long and incoherent letter from Clarissa to Lovelace, which serves only to strengthen the impression of distress left by the preceding 'papers' (VII, 64-68). Both the 'papers' and the letter are omitted by Prévost (*Clarisse*, XI, 194). What we have left to indicate the suffering of Clarissa is only a tame description at second-hand of how she appeared to Lovelace.

In the innumerable letters which describe the gradual decline and death of Clarissa, the situation is somewhat different. The distress is never altogether so acute; Clarissa's grief is never again so violent; but there is an accumulation of misery which



is crushing her. In letter after letter, over which tender-hearted readers shed tears, Clarissa's wretchedness is shown, alleviated only by her Christian resignation. Richardson dwells on her suffering, lingers over it, and returns to it, until every step on her progress to the tomb has been accounted for. Prévost dispatches this section of the narrative in a much more summary fashion. He could hardly omit all of it without making the novel unrecognizable; and besides, Prévost in his own work has shown himself an enthusiastic practitioner of *sensibilité*. He does not object to an attempt at wringing the heart of the reader, but he wants that attempt restrained by a certain decorum. He is unwilling to make an orgy of sympathy. He therefore makes extensive omissions from this portion of the history.

The first of these is that of a letter from Clarissa to Miss Howe (VIII, 149-51; *Clarisse*, XIII, 182-83). Here Clarissa's weakness is betrayed by her "crooked writing," and by the spells of faintness which interrupt her after very few lines. At the same point Prévost omits two letters from Belford which are concerned largely with the state of Clarissa's health. Belford describes her cheerfulness in the contemplation of death, and tells that she has already ordered her coffin. Another letter which Prévost omits gives Clarissa's comments on Brand's letter and thus shows her patience under persecution (VIII, 198-201; *Clarisse*, XIII, 207). A later letter, also omitted, shows *Clarissa's* increasing physical weakness and describes the serenity which results from the fact that she has finished making her will (VIII, 218-19; *Clarisse*, XIII, 228). Finally Prévost omits a group of seventeen letters, most of which have to do with Clarissa's declining health (VIII, 225-88; *Clarisse*, XIII, 235-37). Among these are several from Belford, informing Lovelace of Clarissa's increasing weakness and of the nobility and purity of her thoughts, two letters in which Lovelace comments on Clarissa's situation and expresses his repentance, and two letters from Clarissa herself with further accounts of her weakness and of the state of her mind.

There is one episode in this monotonous history of woe that deserves more particular notice. During the absence of Lovelace, Clarissa had effected her escape from the "vile house" where she had been kept in captivity. After an interval of freedom, she is discovered by the keepers of the house, accomplices of Lovelace, and is imprisoned for debt. Belford writes to Lovelace a highly colored account of her suffering at the time of her arrest, of the squalid prison into which she is thrown, and of the persecution to which she is subjected at the hands of Sally and Polly (VII, 327-47). All this account, which Prévost calls "fort long et fort anglais," is omitted, with the following note:

Les circonstances n'en peuvent être touchantes que pour ceux qui connaissent parfaitement les usages d'Angleterre. Mais on doit se représenter en général l'épouvante et l'affliction d'une jeune personne élevée dans l'abondance, qui tombe dans les mains des plus vils officiers de la justice, et qui se voit conduire au travers d'une foule de curieux, dans une misérable retraite, dont la peinture a quelque chose de plus révoltant que celle d'une véritable prison. Elle y trouve les prétendues nièces de la Sinclair, qui s'y étaient rendues pour se faire un triomphe de sa disgrâce, et qui ont la cruauté d'y mettre le comble par leurs insolents reproches. Si l'on joint à ce nouveau sujet de douleur tout ce qu'il y avait déjà d'affreux dans sa situation, il ne paraîtra pas surprenant qu'elle fut abattue jusqu'à faire craindre pour sa vie. (*Clarisse*, XII, 125.)

Another passage which Prévost may well have considered too affecting for the taste of his French readers is Clarissa's own account of the circumstances leading up to her betrayal. The first account of this, in the letters of Lovelace, is fairly brief, but two hundred pages farther on Richardson returns to the subject and gives Clarissa's story in the fullest detail (VII, 238-61). Prévost omits this, alleging the following reason: "Ce détail qui est fort long dans les trois lettres ne diffère de ce qu'on a déjà lu dans celles de M. Lovelace, que par quelques circonstances qui n'ajoutent rien à la partie historique, et par la peinture des sentiments de Miss Clarisse" (*Clarisse*, XII, 56-57). That may of course be the only reason for the omission, and certainly the passage is out of place where it stands; but one suspects that there may have been a further reason. The picture of Clarissa's distress when she realizes her situation is quite as

moving as that shown after her ruin by the 'papers' of which mention has already been made. Prévost may have thought this picture, like the earlier one, too highly colored for French taste.

Belford's description of the death of Clarissa is translated with notable fidelity, except for the omission of some details that are perhaps too evangelical for Prévost's liking (VIII, 304-7; *Clarisse*, XIV, 7-12). But Clarissa's is a Christian and a happy end; she dies forgiving everyone, and begging forgiveness for herself; there is in this passage none of the violence of some of the earlier scenes.

However, when the news of Clarissa's death reaches the Harlowes, and still more when her body is brought there for burial, Richardson throws aside all restraint in his picture of the desolation and grief by which all are afflicted. A short account is given first of the manner in which the news of the death is received by the Harlowes and the Howes (VIII, 329-32). Although this is at second-hand, coming from the servant who brought the news, it is nevertheless omitted (*Clarisse*, XIV, 42). Somewhat later Colonel Morden writes to Belford a long description of the arrival of the body, of its reception by the family, of Miss Howe's lamentations, of the funeral ceremonies, and of the opening of the will (VIII, 352-96). The "inexhaustible author" does not spare us a single detail; every tear that was shed, every sob and sigh and groan, all the agonies of remorse and regret of each of the dead lady's relatives—everything is recounted. Prévost omits the whole account, giving only the briefest of summaries in a note (*Clarisse*, XIV, 59-61).<sup>15</sup>

There is much less of this sort of detail in *Sir Charles Grandison*. The only occasion when distress becomes very distressing is in the account of the sufferings and the madness of Clementina. Here, too, Prévost takes great liberties. When

<sup>15</sup> Of Prévost's attempts to spare the sensibilities of his readers, this has been the most commented on. Richardson himself objected that the translator had omitted "some of the most affecting parts," specifying this passage among others (Barbauld, VI, 243-44). Diderot, too, complained of it in his *Eloge*, and in March, 1762, the *Journal étranger* published a translation by Suard of the omitted letters. This passage and a few others omitted by Prévost were appended to many subsequent editions of *Clarisse*.

Sir Charles has definitely refused to change his religion, even at the price of Clementina's hand, Clementina promptly runs mad with grief. The state of her mind is described in a general way by letters from Jeronymo to Sir Charles. Then while Sir Charles is in Jeronymo's room, talking of the possibility of a compromise, Clementina rushes in to escape the surgeons who are trying to bleed her. Already disordered in her mind, she is terrified by the surgeons, whom she suspects of intending to torture her. She talks on incoherently for a time, but Sir Charles succeeds in calming her, and at his desire she permits the surgeons to perform their office (X, 313-17). Prévost passes over the scene with the following summary:

Ici M. Grandisson représente l'étonnement qu'elle eut de le voir, le calme qui succéda tout d'un coup dans son esprit, et la facilité qu'elle eut à se laisser tirer du sang, lorsqu'il eut joint ses prières à celles de la marquise. Ce détail n'est pas sans agréments pour ceux qui les aiment de cette nature. Clémentine fut saignée dans la chambre de son frère. (*Grandisson*, V, 76.)

The account of Clementina's next appearance is retained in the French (X, 329-43; *Grandisson*, V, 96 ff.). But here she is in no such extreme disorder as on other occasions; she is sufficiently mistress of her faculties to enter into a long argument intended to convert Sir Charles to Roman Catholicism. And if there were any room for doubt as to Prévost's opinion of such scenes, the matter would be settled by this note: "Quelque jugement que l'on puisse porter de la scène suivante, il paraît nécessaire de la conserver pour donner quelque idée de celles qui lui ressemblent, et qu'on supprime." (*Grandisson*, V, 96.)

Of the rest of the account of Clementina's condition there is retained in the French only a short letter from Mrs. Beaumont describing in general terms the "rage and despair" of Clementina when she learned of Sir Charles' departure. The passages omitted by Prévost include the following: an incoherent letter from Clementina to Sir Charles, warning him that his life is threatened by her indignant relatives (X, 350-52; *Grandisson*, V, 123); three letters from Jeronymo to Sir Charles, giving further details of Clementina's indisposition, and of the measures taken to counteract it (X, 354-60, 371-78, 380-84; *Grandisson*,

V, 125, 129); and most of the description of Sir Charles' leave-taking from the Porrettas (X, 360-68; *Grandisson*, V, 126). These long-drawn-out accounts of every detail of Clementina's despair are replaced in the French by one sentence: "Le même jour, et le lendemain avant son départ, il apprit par les lettres de Jérónimo, et par les dernières visites de Camille, que la paix ne régnait point à l'Hôtel della Porretta, et que la malheureuse Clémentine, informée de sa résolution, était retombée dans ses plus tristes égarements." (*Grandisson*, V, 129.)

From the time of Sir Charles' departure, the condition of Clementina becomes steadily worse, but this is described only in general terms, and, for Richardson, very briefly. The account is retained in the French without notable alteration. With Sir Charles' return to Italy, Richardson becomes as exact and detailed as before. In a long series of letters, Clementina's words and actions throughout a number of meetings with Sir Charles are recounted. A change in the treatment accorded her by her family has already effected a considerable improvement in her condition, and the influence of Sir Charles goes to further that improvement. Ultimately she masters herself so completely that she is able to decide on her own responsibility that she cannot marry a Protestant.

Prévost's treatment of this passage is somewhat different from what has been noted as his custom. The letters describing the first two meetings between Clementina and Sir Charles are translated in full (XI, 163-74; *Grandisson*, VI, 87-111). Clementina's recovery is indeed so important an episode that to omit it or to pass over it lightly would be an extraordinary infidelity. Furthermore, in these scenes Clementina's disorder is no longer violent. Her senses are in a stupor; her mind wanders frequently enough, but not so as to disturb very seriously her quiet. In a word, this passage does not offend so heinously against decorum as do the earlier descriptions of her madness. Even so, Prévost contents himself with a somewhat shorter account of this episode than Richardson had devoted to it. He omits two letters which indicate the gradual progress of Clementina's recovery (XI, 178-82, 186-91; *Grandisson*, VI, 111, 119).

In the scenes which we have been discussing, Richardson has painted the suffering of distressed innocence. When he comes to depict the retribution that awaits the unrepentant sinner, he lays on the colors with an even more willing brush. He dwells on every detail of pain and ugliness that will help to make the picture hideous for the innocent and terrifying for the guilty. The agonies of Belton's deathbed, for instance, and the even more horrible end of the "vile Sinclair," were meant to frighten the wicked and to warn the virtuous not to stray. The passages in question are too long to be given here in full, but it may be well to try to convey some idea of the manner in which they are done.

Sinclair falls downstairs while intoxicated, and breaks her leg. Fever sets in, and the next day she lies "foaming, raving, roaring." Belford is sent for, and he finds her when the doctors have already given her up; she is "raving, crying, cursing, and even howling, more like a wolf than a human creature." Her two partners and eight of her "cursed daughters" are at her bedside, "all in shocking deshabelle, and without stays." They "seemed to have been but just up, risen perhaps from their customers in the fore-house, and their nocturnal orgies, with faces, three or four of them, that had run, the paint lying in streaky seams not half blowzed off, discovering coarse wrinkled skins. . . ." Then there is a page of moralizing, for Clarissa's virtues have already worked the reformation of Belford, and finally the dying woman is presented to us.

Behold her, then, spreading the whole troubled bed with her huge gaggy carcass: her mill-post arms held up; her broad hands clenched with violence; her big eyes, goggling and flaming red as we may suppose those of a salamander; her matted and grisly hair, made irreverent by her wickedness . . . her livid lips parched, and working violently; her broad chin in convulsive motion; her wide mouth . . . splitting her face, as it were, into two parts; and her huge tongue hideously rolling in it; heaving, puffing as if for breath; her bellows-shaped and various coloured breasts ascending by turns to her chin, and descending out of sight, with the violence of her gaspings. (VIII, 341-44.)

She suffers frightfully, but physical suffering is forgotten in an agony of remorse. "*Die*, did you say, sir?—*Die!*—*I will not*, I *cannot* die!—I know not *how* to die! . . . Let others die, who wish for another! who expect a better! . . . And then she howled and bellowed by turns." And so to the end, "through hourly increasing tortures of body and mind," until she "died in such agonies as terrified into a transitory penitence all the wretches about her" (VIII, 352).<sup>16</sup>

A delicacy which was shocked by Clarissa's misery and Clementina's madness could hardly endure a passage like this. Prévost's comment, when he omits the scene, makes clear his objections:

Ce tableau est purement anglais, c'est-à-dire revêtu de couleurs si fortes, et malheureusement si contraires au goût de notre nation, que tous mes adoucissements ne le rendrait pas supportable en français. Il suffit d'ajouter que l'*infâme* et le *terrible* composent le fonds de cette étrange peinture. (*Clarisse*, XIV, 58.)

This is explicit enough to obviate the necessity for further comment. Realistic descriptions of the death throes of a bawd are offensive to French taste. It may also be urged, as will be seen later, that Prévost is not so eager as Richardson to insist upon the punishment of sin; but the omission of such scenes is to be explained primarily by the fact that they are ugly things described in an ugly way.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Belton's death (VIII, 115-16), omitted (*Clarisse*, XIII, 150).

## CHAPTER IV

## RICHARDSON'S REALISM

The consideration of the next group of alterations with which we are to deal necessitates a short preliminary discussion of one of the aspects of Richardson's art as a novelist. Far as his method is from that of a Zola or a Huysmans, Richardson is one of the first of modern realists. It may be objected that he saw a priggish middle-class virtue bathed in a sentimental glory, that he was blinded by all the prejudices of his class and time, that he was utterly incapable of rising to a comprehensive and philosophical view of man and the universe; and all these objections are irrefutable. But the priggish Protestant society which he knew, he painted with a fidelity which in its way has never been surpassed. His Lovelaces and his Grandisons may not be altogether convincing, for he knew little of the life of rakes and gentlemen; but his Clarissas and Pamelas bear the stamp of authenticity. Even at this day and to us who know nothing of the *milieu* which created such personalities, they give the persuasion of absolute reality. One can dislike Clarissa and disapprove of Pamela, but if one perseveres through those interminable volumes, one cannot doubt them.

Perhaps the mere length of the novels is partly responsible for the reality of the characters; after ploughing through seven or eight volumes one is overwhelmed by the very weight of the evidence. And perhaps the method by which Richardson chose to present his characters may aid in producing the impression of reality. We are not told about Clarissa by some doubtfully omniscient author; we have her own letters and cannot help believing in her. But more important is the completeness of Richardson's presentation. "C'est le triomphe de la paperasserie," says Texte,<sup>1</sup> "on dit tout, et, tout ce qu'on dit, on

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<sup>1</sup> P. 204.



l'écrit." We are likely to have accounts of any really critical scene from at least two points of view, with comments on it fifty pages later from the correspondents of the principal actors. Such a method lends itself easily to infinite tediousness, but it makes possible a comprehensive view of the situation and the action. The reader has to take nothing on faith; he has in his possession all the information. The result is that questioning is almost impossible; the fiction has all the actuality of life.<sup>2</sup>

An example of this completeness of presentation occurs after the fire which was almost fatal to Clarissa's virtue. After Clarissa becomes aware of the fact that the fire had been planned to bring about her ruin, she succeeds in escaping, determined to see no more of Lovelace. Within a week she is almost ready to forgive him, and once more to contemplate marriage. Told thus baldly, the thing is incredible; but as one reads the account, one does not feel that it is anything but inevitable. It takes the author almost a volume to make it plausible, but he succeeds. We see in detail the devices of Lovelace, and how they tend gradually to quiet Clarissa's suspicions; we see the effect of the vestiges of her very real love for Lovelace; and we see, more powerful than all other motives, her desire for respectability—she can perhaps not be happy with a man like Lovelace, but it is still not too late to preserve the rags of her reputation. All these feelings working together in her mind bring her gradually—in the course of more than two hundred pages—to the point where she can consider marrying the man whom she had sworn never to see again. And because the working of those feelings is so completely represented, the reader too is brought to the point where he sees nothing surprising or reprehensible in that conclusion.

There is an equally good example in *Pamela*. After Pamela has resisted heroically the bribes and the violence of her master, and has finally won his permission to return to her parents, she sets out. Before she has proceeded very far, however, she receives a note from Mr. B——, imploring her return. She does not

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Utter, "On the Alleged Tediousness of Defoe and Richardson," in the *University of California Chronicle*, XXV, 186-88.

hesitate a moment, but promptly returns to incur, for aught she knows, the same dangers as before. But Richardson, in that volume of letters and journals, has shown us almost more about Pamela than she knows herself; we have seen for a long time that she loves Mr. B——, and it is that fact which explains and excuses her action.

It is by this method that Richardson has been so successful in depicting the rise and growth of a sentiment. It can be said, I think, that Pamela and Clarissa, and above all, Harriet Byron, actually fall in love. In too many treatments of this subject, the hero one moment is fancy free, and the next is wildly in love. The instant the fated lady appears, "she doth teach the torches to burn bright." Richardson's heroines, for it cannot be said of his heroes, fall in love; the reader is the witness of the growth and development of the passion. Such things are revealed only, I suppose, by slight details, and Richardson is the reporter *par excellence* of minute detail.

Not only are Richardson's accounts of moods and emotions extraordinarily complete; he tells with equal exactness how emotions find expression in countenance and movement. This is an important point, and one which is too often overlooked. To us who have Russian and French realism behind us, it is not immediately obvious, but if one compares Richardson with Marivaux, or with Prévost, or even with Defoe, one is struck by this fact: in comparison with Richardson's novels the others seem almost like mere summaries, or scenarios. Richardson was the first really to see his characters on the stage. He sees the expression with which his people speak, he notes the response on the faces of the listeners, the squirming in the chair, the restless tapping of the table—all the physical effects of emotion.

When he sets out to give a formal description of a person, he is not so successful. Such descriptions resemble too much a catalogue of qualities. Lovelace's account of Clarissa (V, 169-70) reminds one of those army records which contain the physical measurements of the soldier, plus an inventory of his clothes and equipment. There is sometimes, to be sure, a homely vigor

and vividness to Richardson's descriptions of persons like Jewkes and Sinclair, but when he pictures more admirable people he is flat and dull. He is at his worst when he describes inanimate objects. His accounts of the garden-house and of Clarissa's prison could hardly be more uninteresting. Such passages may not lack concrete details, but the details refuse to grow together into a picture. The point, however, is not how well Richardson did such descriptions; the significant thing is that he did them at all. He saw his characters as living people, moving against an actual background.

There is one more factor in Richardson's success in producing an air of reality. He takes nothing for granted; he lets nothing slip by; he explains everything. Much of this sort of detail is as trivial as it is tedious, and in any particular instance it is difficult to see why it should not have been spared. But somehow that formless mass of detail produces an impression of reality. In the words of Diderot, "Sachez que c'est à cette multitude de petites choses que tient l'illusion: il y a bien de la difficulté à les imaginer, il y en a bien encore à les rendre. Le geste est quelquefois aussi sublime que le mot, et puis ce sont toutes ces vérités de détail qui préparent l'âme aux impressions fortes des grands événements."<sup>3</sup>

Richardson's novels, then, are encumbered with a multitude of apparently superfluous details, which have nevertheless their function in the author's plan. By these details Richardson makes us see and believe in the action which he presents. It is because such material is in fact essential to Richardson's work that the novels cannot be condensed without completely changing their character. The story of *Clarissa* is not *Clarissa*, and if you remove those wearisome "*longueurs*," you have a book which may be easier to read, but which is scarcely worth reading.

When Prévost comes to this sort of detail, he quite frankly does not know what to make of it. "Ces suppressions," he says, in regard to a series of letters which he omits, "sont autant de sacrifices que le traducteur est obligé de faire au goût français,

<sup>3</sup> "Eloge," *Clarisse*, I, 26.

qui n'est pas pour les détails sans action; car la plus inutile de toutes ces lettres a des beautés de caractère et de sentiment qui méritent d'être regrettées" (*Clarisse*, XII, 42). Again: "On supprime ici un grand nombre de lettres qui n'ajoutent rien à l'histoire ni à l'intérêt" (*Clarisse*, XIII, 19). It is the story interest, then, which for Prévost makes or mars the novel, and in his adaptations of Richardson we can expect him to make only such alterations as leave the story interest unimpaired, and, wherever possible, to omit "useless details."

Let us examine first Prévost's treatment of descriptions of background. When Belford finds Clarissa in prison, after the "vile women" have had her arrested for debt, there is a long account of the room in which she is confined (VII, 349). With methodical particularity and considerable dullness, Richardson describes every article of furniture in the room—chairs, table, couch, stove, even to the price of the flickering candle on the mantelpiece. Prévost ignores most of the facts reported by Richardson, and centers his description about one significant detail, a cracked old mirror, broken perhaps by some wretch who read his misfortunes too clearly in its face (*Clarisse*, XII, 129-30).

A better example of Prévost's method appears in *Sir Charles Grandison*. Harriet, after her marriage, writes long descriptions to her grandmother of her new establishment at Grandison Hall. Very exactly, if not very vividly, she pictures the house and park and garden, the picture gallery, the servants, the instructive books in the library, and spares us only a detailed account of the carvings in the music room, which she leaves to the pen of Lucy Selby (XII, 234-58). The whole passage is omitted by Prévost (*Grandisson*, VII, 208).

The most extraordinary example of Richardson's penchant for descriptions is his account of the wedding of Harriet and Sir Charles. The preliminary arrangements have already been recounted in detail; the jewels of the bride have been described; the financial condition of both parties to the marriage has been explained; and now almost forty pages are given to the reception of the guests, the wedding procession, the ceremony itself, and

the conversations that followed (XII, 160-99). This passage is omitted by Prévost (*Grandisson*, VII, 207).

Even more significant is Prévost's omission of incidental description, of phrases thrown in to tell with what air Clarissa proffers an observation, or with what vexation Lovelace listens to it. Here is a slight but characteristic instance. When Lovelace is trying to secure Clarissa's return after her first flight from Sinclair's, he gives a long account of the affair to the women with whom she has taken refuge, for the purpose of enlisting their sympathies on his behalf. He ends by showing a letter from Lord M.

She took it with an air of eager curiosity, and looked at the seal, ostentatiously coroneted; and at the superscription, reading out, "To Robert Lovelace, Esq."—Ay, Madam—Ay, Miss, that's my name (giving myself an air, though I had told it to them before), I am not ashamed of it. My wife's maiden name—*unmarried* name, I should rather say—fool that I am!—and I rubbed my cheek for vexation (Fool enough in conscience, Jack!) was Harlowe—Clarissa Harlowe—you heard me call her *my Clarissa*—(VI, 388).

The directness and vividness of the passage disappear in the translation:

Elle l'a prise avec une curiosité avide. Après avoir regardé les armes, d'un air d'admiration elle a lu l'adresse, à M. Lovelace, etc. Je l'ai interrompu: Oui, mademoiselle, oui, c'est mon nom, (feignant d'avoir oublié que je m'étais déjà nommé plusieurs fois.) Je n'ai pas sujet d'en rougir, comme vous voyez. Le nom de ma femme est Harlove, Clarisse Harlove; vous me l'avez entendu nommer ma chère Clarisse (*Clarisse*, X, 197).

Again, while the same negotiations are still going on, Captain Tomlinson makes a bold remark to Lovelace in the presence of the ladies.

Miss Rawlins had taken her fan, and would needs hide her face behind it—I suppose because her blush was not quite ready.

Mrs. Moore hemmed, and looked down; and by that gave hers over.

While the jolly widow, laughing out, praised the Captain as one of Hudibras's metaphysicians, repeating,

He knew what's what, and that's as high

As metaphysic wit can fly.

This made Miss Rawlin blush indeed:—Fie, fie, Mrs. Bevis! cried she, unwilling, I suppose, to be thought absolutely ignorant (VI, 420).

A passage of this sort has obviously no purpose except to show what actually went on. The women's blushes, real or feigned, have nothing to do with what is to happen to Clarissa; they themselves are only episodic characters, and we shall soon see the last of them; but while they are on the stage, Richardson watches them as carefully as he watches Clarissa or Lovelace. Prévost does not see the point of such expenditure of effort; he omits the passage (*Clarisse*, X, 259).

In *Sir Charles Grandisson* alterations like this are even more frequent, for one of Prévost's favorite means of compression is to summarize in a few general phrases a scene which Richardson has reported at length. Examples have already been given in connection with Prévost's treatment of Sir Rowland Meredith, and more can be gathered from almost any letter in the novel.<sup>4</sup>

I turn now to Prévost's treatment of details which illustrate Richardson's habit of letting nothing pass unaccounted for, of not slighting unimportant matters, of completing every picture. When Lovelace first finds Clarissa, after her flight from Sinclair's, he explains to her temporary protector that she is his wife. This is natural enough, but Lovelace, in reporting the incident to Belford, thinks it necessary to add a "marginal observation" of over three hundred words to explain how he has the assurance to do this, since the "measures he had previously concerted" made it very plausible. Then he proceeds to rehearse those measures, with which the reader is already perfectly familiar (VI, 367). Prévost omits this explanation (*Clarisse*, X, 162).

The apothecary who visits Clarissa in her illness affords another example (VII, 366). Prévost retains the essential facts, that Clarissa was ill enough to need assistance, and that everything possible was done for her. But all the details in regard to the apothecary, his fitness, his general good reputation, and the impression he produced upon Clarissa and Belford, as well as Belford's plans to secure the services of a physician in whom he

<sup>4</sup> See particularly the account of Sir Hargrave's call (IX, 95-96; *Grandisson*, I, 88).

has special confidence—all these are omitted (*Clarisse*, XII, 158–59). Such details are not essential, certainly, and that is true of most of those which Prévost omits. Any specific passage can easily be spared; but in the mass, such details give to Richardson's work an air of reality which Prévost's version, at least comparatively, lacks.

The very typographical form of Richardson's writings bears witness to his passion for fidelity to the actual fact. No English writer has understood so well the literary possibilities of punctuation marks. He uses them all with great lavishness, even the now neglected colon, but he has a special fondness for the exclamation point and the dash. In this way he endeavors to reproduce as nearly as may be the inflections and rhythms of actual conversation. If a speaker is incoherent with rage or grief, Richardson tries, with the aid of appropriate marks, to produce the exact impression of that incoherence. If *Clarissa* is gasping out her last breath as she gives edifying counsel to those about her, there is a dash for every gasp. In the French version, such passages are ordinarily printed without the same expenditure of punctuation marks. For example, Lovelace, in his first conversation with *Clarissa* after her downfall, is taken aback by her "majestic composure," and stammeringly offers her reparation: "What—what—a—what has been done—I, I, I—cannot but say—must own—must confess—hem—hem—is not right—is not what should have been—but-a—but—but—I am truly—truly—sorry for it—upon my soul I am —and—and—will do all—do everything—do what—whatever is incumbent upon me—all that you—that you—that you shall require, to make you amends!—" (VII, 77). Prévost renders the passage thus: "Cependant j'ai parlé de dédommagement et de réparations" (*Clarisse*, XI, 208).

An example of the same sort is the letter of Charlotte Montague to Miss Howe, written after receiving the news of *Clarissa*'s arrest and imprisonment for debt (VII, 321–22). The very form bears witness to the perturbation of the writer; the letter is made up of disconnected phrases, each set off in a paragraph, and the whole thing is hurried and incoherent. The

French translation is surprisingly literal, but just enough is added to remove the appearance of disorder. Sentences are filled out and joined together, so that the letter becomes smooth and elegant and untrue to the state of mind in which its writer professes to be (*Clarisse*, XII, 112-13).

Another sort of incidental detail which Prévost frequently omits has relation to the epistolary form. For Richardson the letters are not merely a convenient device for telling a story. They are communications addressed from one person to another, and both form and contents are influenced by that fact. Richardson puts into the letters gossip that has no relation to the story, merely to add to the reality of the illusion, and the letters begin and end as letters do. Prévost frequently omits such details (VII, 166; *Clarisse*, XI, 275; IX, 255; *Grandisson*, II, 110-11).

Thus far we have been concerned with the alterations which affect Richardson's treatment of what might be called external detail, his descriptions of people and environment and actions. As has been said, however, Richardson's realism depends to a large extent upon his accurate presentation of mental states. It is true that the external detail of which we have spoken above is not without its relation to mental states; much of it is in fact introduced for the purpose of indicating mood and emotion. But the material to which we shall now turn is of another sort; it consists largely of analysis by the characters of their own varying moods. Richardson's characters tell what they feel with as much exactness as what they do. This involves, or at least excuses, great minuteness in reporting conversations, and makes necessary frequent repetition. Material of this sort Prévost is very willing to omit.

A good example of this appears in the account of the numerous and stormy interviews between Clarissa and Lovelace after her escape from Sinclair's, a passage to which reference has already been made (p. 383). It will not be amiss to examine in some detail what Prévost omits from this portion of the novel. All of what may be called the purely narrative part of the account is retained—Clarissa's recital to Miss Howe of her



escape, Lovelace's measures to find her, and to introduce himself into the house where she has taken refuge, his devices to secure the favor of Mrs. Moore, Miss Rawlins, and the Widow Bevis. Even after Lovelace has prevailed upon Clarissa to listen to him, the first part of the interminable conversations that follow is translated in full. These conversations continue without any result except to give a complete picture of Clarissa's feelings, and the patience of the translator begins to weary. From the most crucial of these conversations, where Clarissa shows for the first time "rather a *yielding* than a *perverse* temper," Prévost omits six pages (VI, 480-86; *Clarisse*, XI, 96). Again, when Clarissa's resentment has cooled still more, the account of a conversation with Lovelace is considerably shortened by Prévost (VI, 494-501; *Clarisse*, XI, 109-18). Another brief conversation between Clarissa and Lovelace is summarized by Prévost (VII, 21-23; *Clarisse*, XI, 142). He also omits some material of another sort, such as the copy of the marriage license, with Lovelace's comments on matrimony (VII, 27-33; *Clarisse*, XI, 151) and the account of the schooling of the supposed Lady Betty and Charlotte for the parts they are to play (VII, 35-37; *Clarisse*, XI, 154).

More important than any of these is the omission of Clarissa's own account of the way in which she was tricked into returning to her former lodgings, and of her final undoing (VII, 238-61; *Clarisse*, XII, 56-57). This account does not constitute a repetition of the story as Lovelace had told it, but the fact that it comes so long after its proper place in the novel may have something to do with its omission. Then too, as suggested in the preceding chapter, the affecting nature of the episode may have determined Prévost to leave it out. But Prévost's note indicates that he was influenced by another consideration: "Ce détail qui est fort long dans les trois lettres ne diffère de ce qu'on a déjà lu dans celles de M. Lovelace, que par quelques circonstances qui n'ajoutent rien à la partie historique, et par la peinture des sentiments de Miss Clarisse" (*Clarisse*, XII, 57). Prévost is less interested than Richardson in the exact portrayal of emotion, and when an

episode has once been related, he refuses to go back and expatiate upon the feelings of one of the actors.

In this connection there should also be mentioned Prévost's treatment of certain passages describing Clarissa's approach toward death. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that from the time of Clarissa's release from prison, nothing happens until her death. The intervening four hundred and fifty pages are devoted chiefly to an account of the edifying state of mind in which she prepares for heaven. Prévost's omissions from this portion of the narrative are determined sometimes by the affecting nature of the material and sometimes by the too detailed elaboration of mental states. Thus Prévost omits a letter from Clarissa to Mrs. Norton, in which she "makes reflections worthy of herself, upon her present situation, and upon her hopes, with regard to a happy futurity" (VII, 448-51; *Clarisse*, XII, 253). She shows her unselfishness by her concern for the health of Mrs. Norton, in spite of her own desperate situation; she talks cheerfully and with composure of her approaching end; she makes light of her distresses and emphasizes her consolations in order not to add to Mrs. Norton's anxieties.

Again, Prévost omits some sixty pages which are devoted chiefly to a further account of the mood with which Clarissa faces death, and of the emotions with which Lovelace watches her decline (VIII, 225-88; *Clarisse*, XIII, 235-37). A typical letter is the one in which Belford relates Clarissa's disappointment when she is told that she may live for two or three days. She asks about Lovelace, and when she is told of his grief, she expresses her full forgiveness, and prays that God may likewise pardon him and "perfect his repentance." A minister then enters, and she repeats her assurance that she retains no resentment against any one; she is so completely weaned from the world that she can say: "Even what I have most rejoiced in, the truly friendly love that has so long subsisted between my Miss Howe and her Clarissa, although to my last gasp it will be the dearest to me of all that is dear in this life, has already abated of its fervour" (VIII, 264). But although she forgives

Lovelace, she refuses to see him, for she wishes to enter her "Maker's presence with the composure that is required in entering into the drawing-room of an earthly prince" (VIII, 265).

The letters in this group which are concerned with Lovelace are similar in their treatment of emotion. For example, Lovelace begins one letter with an expression of his bitter remorse (VIII, 251-54). He finds company painful and diversion impossible. Three or four times a day he commences to ride toward London, determined to see Clarissa at all hazards; then, fearing to offend her, he turns back. He goes to meet the servant who is to bring him news, and fearing that he has missed him on the road, he returns home at full speed. It cannot be that Clarissa will die; surely she and Belford are in a plot to deceive him into repentance. But if she is to die, he will leave England forever.

In such passages as these, Richardson is describing emotions partly for an ulterior end. He is endeavoring to impress upon the mind of the reader that the virtuous are able to face death with composure or with exaltation, and that nothing can rescue the wicked from misery and despair. It might be supposed, then, that Prévost omitted such passages on account of their too insistent morality. But the moral is abundantly clear in spite of Prévost's excisions. The alterations are to be explained, therefore, by Prévost's distaste for minute representation of emotion.

Another example of Richardson's elaboration of mental states is the account of the courtship of Sir Charles after he returns from his final journey to Italy, free to marry Harriet immediately. One would suppose that a final chapter would suffice to catch up the loose ends of the action, to punish the rogues and marry the virtuous. But such a supposition takes no account of Richardson's method; what he has yet to say would fill a book the size of *Vanity Fair*. Although every one knows that Harriet has been sick with love for Sir Charles, and although there is no doubt that Sir Charles is intent on marrying Harriet at the earliest possible moment, it takes Richardson some three hundred and seventy pages to bring about the marriage and to establish Harriet in her new home. Every step that Sir Charles takes is

recounted, every word that he says to win Harriet's consent to an immediate wedding, and all her replies, and all that they both think and say on all possible subjects. Fully two-thirds of this account is omitted by Prévost (XI, 440—XII, 270; *Grandisson*, VII, 76–208).

According to Richardson's conception of the novel, what the characters think and feel is as important as what they do and suffer. In omitting such passages, then, Prévost is doing violence to the novel as the author planned it. It is difficult to believe that many readers will resent being kept in ignorance of Sir Charles' opinion of schismatics, or even of Platonic love and the proper age for a woman to marry. Furthermore, the exactness of Richardson's descriptions of the wedding ceremony is in no way essential. But if Richardson is exact in regard to what goes on about his characters, he is much more exact in regard to what goes on within them; and in making such omissions as he has here, Prévost has unavoidably taken away something from our comprehension of the feelings of the characters. In the interminable letters that precede the marriage, Richardson has delineated with great skill the change in Harriet's attitude which results from the approaching fulfillment of her desires. Heretofore, she has loved without much hope of return; she recognizes a prior duty of Sir Charles towards Clementina, and she is willing to admit that Clementina is more nearly worthy of Sir Charles than she. But no shadow of reproach falls upon Sir Charles; he is ever in her eyes the ideal Christian hero, and if she cannot aspire to him, she will stoop to no other. However, when Sir Charles begins to pay his addresses to her, her attitude changes. Had she followed her heart and sunk languishing into his arms at his first appearance, she would have been lacking in delicacy. And perhaps that would not have been to follow her heart. For when all the obstacles have been leveled and her happiness depends only upon herself, she becomes more critical of Sir Charles' conduct. There is nothing very serious, of course; nothing that suggests any real blemish on the character of the hero. But she permits herself to wonder whether he is

not too "free" at one moment, and again, whether his manner is not "a little too parading for his natural freedom." When he takes the liberty of dining elsewhere, she is bold to find fault. Above all, she objects to the precipitancy with which he wishes to settle the affair. The young lady who was wasting away with a hopeless passion has to be importuned for two hundred pages before her delicacy can endure the thought of setting the date at which her heaven is to begin. And the thing is done so skillfully that it does not seem false and preposterous; the picture of the change that results from the assurance that she is beloved wins the conviction of the most captious. In Prévost's version, the lines of the picture are blurred, and the heaping up of detail that compels assent is left undone.

The significance of this tendency in Prévost's alterations is not difficult to discern. Prévost himself was a novelist whose work represents a notable advance in the art of fiction. In the words of Brunetière, "Quoique l'on pense de *Le Sage* et de *Marivaux*, Prévost, comme romancier, leur est donc à tous deux supérieur, et je vais bien plus loin, il le serait encore, même s'il n'était pas l'auteur de *Manon Lescaut*. Car ses romans sont des romans . . . le ressort de ses romans est le vrai romanesque, ce que l'on ne pourrait dire ni de *Marianne* ni du *Paysan Parvenu*."<sup>5</sup> But for all that, Prévost is closer to Marivaux and even to *Le Sage* than to Richardson. His manner of telling his story is that of his forerunners, the manner of memoirs, so that the outlines of the facts are blurred by distance. There is presented to the reader an old man's memory of what he lived through in his youth, or of what someone told him many years ago; the reader sees what happens, but not how it happens.

The innovation introduced by Richardson was twofold. For the first time he brings the reader into immediate contact with the events of the story; he gives the reader the sensation of watching the history unfold itself under his eyes, instead of listening to a narration at second-hand. In the second place, Richardson, more than any of his predecessors, has an accurate

<sup>5</sup> *Etudes critiques*, III, 257-58.

eye for what goes on inside his people. He looks not only to what they do, but even more to what they think and feel. Of Richardson's contributions to the art of the novel, this is the chief.

It is not to be supposed that this quality of reality entirely disappears in the French versions. Prévost follows Richardson closely enough so that even the French reader saw incidents and emotions described with a new accuracy and minuteness. But Prévost is not willing to go so far in this direction as Richardson; in innumerable cases he omits or condenses Richardson's recital of trivial facts and emotions. The significance of such alterations is that they mark a return toward the older method of story-telling, away from the method developed by Richardson. The realism of the French translations is less complete than that of the originals. It is then in the very respect in which Richardson's work is the most important that Prévost is the least faithful.

## CHAPTER V

## RICHARDSON'S PREACHING

The thing which the modern reader finds the most intolerable in Richardson is his inassuageable itch for preaching. Not only do his "oraculous" young ladies ascend into the pulpit with the slightest excuse; his very libertines "very often make such reflections upon each other, and each upon himself and his own actions, as reasonable beings *must* make, who disbelieve not a future state of rewards and punishments, and who one day propose to reform" (IV, p. x). When anything is said or done which can suggest a moral observation, we are never spared. Richardson's purpose in writing was much more weighty than merely to entertain. He says in the Preface to *Clarissa*:

What will be found to be more particularly aimed at in the following work is—to warn the inconsiderate and thoughtless of the one sex, against the base arts and designs of the specious contrivers of the other—to caution parents against the undue exercise of their natural authority over their children in the great article of marriage—to warn children against preferring a man of pleasure to a man of probity upon that dangerous but too commonly received notion, *that a reformed rake makes the best husband*—but above all, to investigate the highest and most important doctrines not only of morality, but of Christianity, by showing them thrown into action in the conduct of the *worthy* characters; while the *unworthy* who set those doctrines at defiance, are condignly, and, as may be said, consequentially punished (IV, p. xii).

In the Postscript to the same novel, he speaks even more decisively:

It will be seen, by this time, that the author had a great end in view. He has lived to see scepticism and infidelity openly avowed, and even endeavoured to be propagated from the *press*; the great doctrines of the Gospel brought into question; those of self-denial and mortification blotted out of the catalogue of Christian virtues; and a taste even to wantonness for out-door pleasure and luxury, to the general exclusion of domestic as well as public virtue, industriously promoted among all ranks and degrees of people. In this general depravity, when even the pulpit has lost great part of its weight, and the clergy are considered as a body of *interested*

men, the author thought he should be able to answer it to his own heart, be the success what it would, if he threw in his mite towards introducing a reformation so much wanted: and he imagined, that if in an age given up to diversion and entertainment, he could *steal in*, as may be said, and investigate the great doctrines of Christianity under the fashionable guise of an amusement; he should be most likely to serve his purpose, remembering that of the Poet:—

“A verse may find him who a sermon flies,  
And turn delight into a sacrifice.” (VIII, 523–24.)

Richardson by no means confines himself to showing the doctrines of Christianity “thrown into action”; he not only embodies those doctrines in his characters, but he lets his characters expound them at length. His novels are in effect novels plus commentaries, and the commentaries are as long as the novels.

Prodigality of moral reflections was a sin into which Prévost also fell very readily, as some of his contemporaries noted. This is Fréron’s judgment: “Si l’abbé Prévost eut travaillé moins vite, s’il eut été moins ami du merveilleux, plus économe de réflexions, il eut porté au plus haut degré de perfection le roman pathétique.”<sup>1</sup> But Prévost’s method is very different from Richardson’s. When he has Cleveland safely away from the Indians and happily established at Havana, he occupies his hero for a considerable number of pages with the problems of man’s nature and destiny, but while the tale is moving he keeps away from extraneous matters. For Prévost, as is indicated in the comments cited below, the tale is the principal matter.

Prévost does not altogether share Richardson’s lofty idea of the function of the novel. He professes to make the reading of his own works useful as well as agreeable,<sup>2</sup> but in a letter to Dom Le Sueur he admits quite frankly his contempt for his art:

Outre l’honneur de m’employer pour la Maison de Rohan, je considère de quel avantage il serait pour ma tranquillité et ma réputation de pouvoir sortir de ce labyrinthe de bagatelles où l’état de ma fortune me tient renfermé malgré moi. Les études dont je me suis occupé toute ma vie ne devaient pas me conduire à faire des *Clevelands*. Quelle obligation ne vous aurais-je pas, mon révérend père, si vous pouviez contribuer par vos soins à m’ouvrir une autre carrière.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Année littéraire* (1782), I, 31.      <sup>3</sup> 1738. HARRISSE, pp. 283–84.

<sup>2</sup> *Oeuvres*, XXIX, pp. v–vi.



This reflects a very different conception of the novel from Richardson's. For Prévost a novel is a bagatelle intended to afford innocent amusement, and amusement comes from the story, not from moralizing about the story. His comments, as well as his practice, make it clear that he found in Richardson more of such moralizing than he was willing to accept. He says in one instance: "On supprime plusieurs autres lettres, qui ne contiennent que d'inutiles détails quoique toujours mêlés d'excellentes réflexions. L'éditeur anglais sacrifie souvent l'intérêt historique au dessein d'instruire par les plus sages leçons de religion et de morale" (*Clarisse*, XIV, 105).

It would be as impossible as undesirable to go into any great detail in regard to omissions of this sort. If by tabulating such omissions one could get an idea of the respects in which Prévost differed from Richardson in opinion, it might conceivably be worth while. But one can never assume that because Prévost omitted an observation he disagreed with it. The only legitimate conclusion is that he thought such observations in such profusion as Richardson proffers them, out of place in a novel. All that is necessary, then, is to examine a few typical cases to illustrate the kind of thing that Prévost found unpalatable.

When *Clarissa* is laying her plans for flight from home as a last desperate expedient, she remarks that she cannot remove and secrete any of her clothes without arousing suspicion, and that therefore she will have to go provided only with what she is wearing. She can be prepared, however, without difficulty, she says, for it has always been her custom "to be dressed for the day as soon as breakfast is over." This gives rise to nearly two pages of reflections (IV, 434-36). "We owe it to ourselves, and to our *sex*, you know, to be always neat. . . . Besides, people in adversity . . . should endeavour to preserve laudable customs, that, if sunshine return, they may not be losers by their trial. . . . Does it not, moreover, manifest firmness of mind, in an unhappy person, to keep hope alive? To *hope* for better days, is half to *deserve* them." At this point, the mind of *Clarissa* takes a new tack; she thinks again of the "contrivances"

to which she is compelled by the cruelty of her family, and she writes Miss Howe a little essay on the necessity of reposing trust in servants in order to make them honest, and then on the comparative honesty of the rich and poor. Even the authoress notes how far she has strayed, and defends herself thus: "We always allowed ourselves to expatiate on such subjects, whether high or low, as might tend to enlarge our minds, or mend our management."

Prévost omits the whole passage (*Clarisse*, III, 186). There are two elements in this to which Prévost may have objected. First, there is the enunciation of general moral principles: people in adversity should endeavor to preserve good customs; to hope for better days is half to deserve them, etc. Secondly, there is exemplified the tendency of all Richardson's heroines to put down aphoristical observations about men and manners. If you expect dishonesty of your servants, you will not be disappointed; the poor are perhaps as honest as the rich, for that is the only thing they have to pride themselves on. I treat these two things together, for they derive from the same quality of mind, and they are generally found in conjunction.

Frequently enough, instead of the mere enunciation of principles, we are given the whole line of thought and argument by which the principles are arrived at. Thus, after a summary account of what Belton has suffered in health and in fortune from his mistress, Belford proceeds to point the moral in no less than seven pages (VI, 76-83). "So KEEPING don't do, Lovelace. 'Tis not the eligible life. . . . Let us consider this point a little; and that upon our own *principles*, as *libertines*, setting aside what is exacted from us by the *laws of our country*, and its *customs*. . . . We should have the same regard for our posterity, as we are glad our fathers had for theirs." Then, since the tenure of a mistress is so uncertain, one can expect nothing of her except riot and waste, while a lawful wife will be frugal and restrained. There is a greater probability that a wife will be loyal to her husband's bed than that a mistress will be to her keeper's. All this is reinforced by the story of a cousin of

Belford's who, like Belton, was ruined by "keeping," and Belford concludes thus:

After we libertines have indulged our licentious appetites, reflecting (in the conceit of our vain hearts), both with our lips and by our lives, upon our ancestors and the good old ways, we find out, when we come to years of discretion . . . that those good old ways would have been best for us, as well as for the rest of the world; and that in every step we have deviated from them we have only exposed our vanity and our ignorance at the same time (VI, 83).

Of this letter Prévost keeps only the couple of paragraphs which recount the facts of Belton's fate; the rest he omits (*Clarisse*, VIII, 155).

It is hard not to be grateful for these omissions. From the modern point of view, there is little to excuse such disquisitions. Perhaps they serve to fill out the pictures of the various persons who indulge in them, as they all do. If the characters as Richardson conceived them did take every opportunity to preach sermons, it is only fair that the reader of the novel should know it. However, it is not necessary that every one of the sermons preached by every one of the characters should be reported *verbatim*; enough of the sermons are retained in the French so that the perspicuous reader will not be wholly unaware of the moralizing tendency of the characters.

Particularly in *Sir Charles Grandison* a great amount of space is given to the mere expression of opinion. Harriet writes to Lucy, for example, a detailed report of an "interesting conversation" which is concerned with the immorality of masquerades, the folly of marrying a rake, the impropriety of marriages between "persons of unequal years," and the like (X, 29-37). Harriet's purpose is, she says, "to let you into the character and sentiments of Sir Charles Grandison." But Sir Charles' opinions have nothing to do with the story as Prévost conceives it, and he omits the letter (*Grandisson*, III, 206).

Another example of the same sort is the account of an evening at Colnebrooke, when "every one sought to engage Sir Charles in discourse." Sir Charles discourses on the management of servants, on womanly modesty; he sets forth a plan for the estab-

ishment of Protestant nunneries, and explains the evils of imprudent marriages and love at first sight (XI, 26-34). Prévost omits this letter (*Grandisson*, V, 208).

Again, Richardson inserts a long discussion of the question whether a girl should refuse to marry if she has been disappointed in her first love (XII, 385-403). Prévost omits this passage with the following note:

Ceux qui aiment les dissertations tendres et morales, doivent regretter qu'on supprime quatre ou cinq grandes lettres, où l'on voit le sentiment de plusieurs jeunes filles et de quelques *matrones*, sur la grande et vieille thèse: s'il vaut mieux se marier par amour que par raison (*Grandisson*, VIII, 133-34).

Even more significant are the cases in which, from a letter otherwise translated faithfully, Prévost omits a single sentence or paragraph of moral observation. Thus, after explaining Lovelace's innocence of Clarissa's arrest, Miss Montague adds: "Oh, what wretches are these free-living men, who love to tread in intricate paths; and, when once they err, know not how far out of the way their headstrong course may lead them!" (VII, 325.) Prévost omits only this sentence from the letter (*Clarisse*, XII, 119). Again, Clarissa, speaking of her family's repulse of her request for forgiveness, reasons in this fashion:

Who, upon a passionate repulse, would despair of having a reasonable request granted?—Who would not, by gentleness and condescension, endeavour to leave favourable impressions upon an angry mind; which, when it comes coolly to reflect, may induce it to work itself into a condescending temper? To request a favour, as I have often said, is one thing; to challenge it as our due, is another. And what right has a petitioner to be angry at a *repulse*, if he has not a right to *demand* what he sues for as a debt? (VI, 239.)

This paragraph is omitted by Prévost (*Clarisse*, IX, 181).

In the same way, there is omitted from Harriet's description of Everard Grandison a digression upon the respectability of spinsterhood, and the following account of Sir Charles' influence upon Everard:

And he does not now entertain ladies with instances of the frailty of individuals of their sex; which many are too apt, encouragingly, to smile at: when, I am very much mistaken, if every woman would not find her account,

if she wishes *herself* to be thought well of, in discouraging every reflection that may have a tendency to debase or expose the sex in general. How can a man be suffered to boast of his vileness to one woman in the presence of another, without a rebuke, that should put it to the proof, whether the boaster was or was not past blushing! (IX, 278-79; *Grandisson*, II, 148.)

As has been noted, such moralizing frequently runs into a sort of observation on men and manners, without any particular moral application, a shrewd wordly wisdom like that of Poor Richard. Prévost is equally impatient of these reflections. Thus when Clarissa leaves her home, Lovelace suggests that she take refuge with some tradesman with whom her family is in the habit of dealing. He justifies the proposal in this fashion: "Traders are dealers in pins, and will be more obliged by a penny customer than by a pound present, because it is in their way: yet will refuse neither, any more than a lawyer or a man of office his fee" (V, 292). Prévost renders the passage thus: "Ces gens-là ne se mènent que par l'intérêt" (*Clarisse*, VI, 102).

It is in the letters of Lovelace that such observations abound, for Clarissa and Harriet and Sir Charles manage to squeeze some juice of moral significance out of even the toughest subject. Thus Lovelace, arguing that "ruin," for a woman, is only a "transitory evil," adds,

At this rate of romancing, how many *flourishing ruins* dost thou, as well as I, know? Let us but look about us, and we shall see some of the haughtiest and most *ensorious* spirits among our acquaintance of that sex now passing for chaste wives, of whom strange stories might be told; and others, whose husbands' hearts have been made to ache for their gaities, both before and after marriage; and yet know not half so much of them, as some of us honest fellows could tell them (VII, 25-26).

Prévost omits this comment (*Clarisse*, XI, 148).

If anything like a full account of such omissions were set down here, the reader might be led to suppose that Prévost ruthlessly excised all impertinent comments. That conclusion would be false. Prévost leaves out a great deal of such material, but he retains even more; all that can be said is that the burden on the reader's patience is sensibly less in the French version.

## CHAPTER VI

## CONCLUSION

There remains only the task of drawing conclusions from the evidence that has been presented, and of attempting to estimate the translations as a whole. Among critics of that time and this there is little agreement on this question. What Richardson himself thought, one can guess from his eagerness that the translation of *Clarissa* should include his "alterations and assistances," and from his piqued comment when he saw what Prévost had omitted. Perhaps, since he did not read French, he was willing to trust the judgment of Lady Bradshaigh, who wrote:

I shall not forgive the French translator, for his omissions. The death of Belton is one of the finest descriptions, and one of the most useful, though shocking, pictures, that can be exhibited, in my poor opinion. . . . He has found out that moral instructions, warning, etc., were principally in your thoughts; yet thinks that you should have preferred your story to everything; spoke like a Frenchman, all shew and parade. The exemplary, the useful, the solid, are too weighty for a Frenchman's brain.<sup>1</sup>

In France, however, few voices were raised in criticism of the translations. Diderot and Grimm resented some of Prévost's liberties, but they were almost alone. *L'Année littéraire* gave its cordial approval to Prévost's method.<sup>2</sup> It found the style of the translation particularly praiseworthy. "Quant au style, il est tel qu'il doit être pour intéresser, simple, aisé, vif, et coulant. Mais qu'est-il nécessaire d'en relever le mérite? Le nom de M. l'abbé Prévost n'est-il pas au-dessus de tous les éloges?"<sup>3</sup> The same journal still spoke sympathetically of Prévost's work many years later, when Richardson had become a cult, and French decorum was not so easily shocked.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Barbauld, VI, 233.

<sup>2</sup> 1755, VIII, 136 ff.; 1758, IV, 3 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 1758, IV, 19-20.

<sup>4</sup> 1786, II, 233 ff.

A review of a play drawn from *Clarissa* gives further evidence of the feeling that Richardson needed editing of the sort that Prévost attempted :

Le nom de Clarisse Harlove prépare à un grand intérêt, et cette attente est remplie dans le drame que nous annonçons. Les caractères, les scènes, les événements, les sentiments, tout est fourni par Richardson, mais il y a beaucoup de mérite à avoir réduit à trois actes sans diminuer l'intérêt, ces beaux et vastes développements de Richardson que la vivacité française accuse quelquefois de longueur, mais qui fournissent tant de ressources pour nourrir et fortifier ce même intérêt.<sup>5</sup>

Modern French critics share the opinion that Prévost's alterations did no serious injury to Richardson. Texte says :

Mais le romancier anglais a moins souffert qu'on ne le croirait de ces changements. Il n'a point de style, en effet; même il écrit une langue incorrecte. Tout son mérite est dans l'observation morale, qui est riche, et dans le pathétique, qui est fort. De l'observation, il en restait assez dans les "belles infidèles de Prévost pour que le goût français n'eût pas trop à s'offusquer de cette analyse touffue et débordante. Des scènes de passion, l'essentiel est demeuré intact: ce n'est pas l'auteur de *Cleveland* qui aurait ici rogné les ailes à l'auteur de *Clarisse*. Moins de morale, moins de détails vulgaires, une forme plus élégante et fleurie: c'est en ce sens que Prévost a trahi son auteur. En revanche, il n'a guère touché au pathétique de l'oeuvre ni au relief des caractères. Même émondée, l'oeuvre de Richardson sembla très neuve aux lecteurs français.<sup>6</sup>

Harrisse attributes the success of Richardson on the Continent entirely to the merit of the translations :

Si Prévost n'avait que traduit ces romans admirables,—aujourd'hui si difficiles à lire, dans n'importe quelle langue,—ils n'eussent rencontré qu'un médiocre succès hors d'Angleterre. En Hollande, en Allemagne, partout sur le continent, on ne voulut les connaître que dans la traduction de l'abbé Prévost. Et s'ils furent lus, admirés, imités, c'est qu'avec un tact, un art infinis, il les alléga de détails inutiles, d'incidents qui nuisaient à l'action du drame et ralentissaient le cours du récit. C'est, encore, parce qu'il sut revêtir ses traductions d'un style naturel, attendri, pathétique, où se retrouvait toute l'éloquence de l'original.<sup>7</sup>

There are two questions at issue. It can hardly be doubted that the effect of Prévost's alterations was a more universal popularity in France than Richardson would have enjoyed if he

<sup>5</sup> *Journal des savants* (October, 1788), p. 680.

<sup>6</sup> P. 197.

<sup>7</sup> P. 46.

had been translated literally. There were many who wept delicious tears over the misfortunes of Clarissa and Clementina, who would have been horrified and repelled by some of the details that Richardson introduced into those pictures. Even later than this the French were not willing to accept all the disorder and extravagance of the English, as is witnessed by the fate of *Tristram Shandy* in France,<sup>8</sup> and the bitter war in regard to Le Tourneur's translation of Shakespeare.

But it is difficult to believe that one can leave out half of a novel without notably altering it, especially when one sets out with the express purpose of altering it. The very fact that a part of Richardson's popularity in France can be attributed to Prévost indicates the importance of his refashioning of the original. Upon Prévost's omission of a great deal of moralizing I do not insist, except to point out once more that it was deliberate infidelity to Richardson's purpose. We are grateful for such relief today, perhaps, but for Richardson the story was only the "vehicle to the instruction," and such omissions tended to make of the novel something other than he had intended. Prévost thought his time more worthily occupied in composing a history of the house of Rohan than in writing novels, and his alterations of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison* tend toward making novels that are only a "lecture honnête et agréable." However, it cannot be denied that Richardson overcharges his novels with moralizing; the story affords a vehicle hardly capacious enough for the reflections that are crowded into it. Nor are Prévost's omissions of this sort extensive enough to deprive the novels of their moral quality. Enough of this quality is retained so that the French reader may get a not inaccurate idea of Richardson's purpose and method.

It is in other respects that Prévost's translations are seriously unfaithful. The thorough-going revision of the novels to meet the standards of French decorum does a real injustice to Richardson. That revision is threefold. In the first place, whenever

<sup>8</sup> Barton, pp. 2-3.



Richardson incurs the reproach of vulgarity, either by the coarseness of his language or the lowness of his characters, Prévost removes the offense and confers on him an artificial refinement. In the second place, Prévost chastens the frequent extravagance of Richardson's language, and reduces the space allotted to such eccentric and indecorous characters as Charlotte Grandison and Sir Rowland Meredith. Finally, Prévost regularly omits scenes in which suffering is too vividly depicted. It makes little difference, perhaps, that Prévost translated "Procuress" as "m—"; but that we are denied the sight of Belton's and Sinclair's deathbeds, that our knowledge of Clarissa's wretchedness is seriously curtailed, that we are allowed only a glimpse of Clementina in her distraction—these things do make a difference. These scenes are of capital importance, and their suppression or mutilation shifts to some degree the emphasis of the novel and alters the center of interest.

Even more important, although less obvious, is the constant attenuation of Richardson's realism; Prévost leaves out innumerable minute details, each of little importance by itself, but of which the total effect is an extraordinary reality. Diderot saw this and stated it more clearly than any of his contemporaries:

Vous accusez Richardson de longueurs! Vous avez donc oublié combien il en coûte de peine, de soins, de mouvements, pour faire réussir la moindre entreprise, terminer un procès, conclure un mariage, amener une réconciliation. Pensez de ces détails ce qu'il vous plaira; mais ils seront intéressants pour moi, s'ils sont vrais, s'ils font sortir les passions, s'ils montrent les caractères.

Ils sont communs, dites-vous; c'est ce qu'on voit tous les jours. Vous vous trompez: c'est ce qui se passe tous les jours sous vos yeux, et que vous ne voyez jamais. . . . Eh bien! il en est pour vous des phénomènes moraux ainsi que des phénomènes physiques: les éclats des passions ont souvent frappé vos oreilles; mais vous êtes bien loin de connaître tout ce qu'il y a de secret dans leurs accents et dans leurs expressions. Il n'y en a aucune qui n'ait sa physionomie; toutes ces physionomies se succèdent sur un visage, sans qu'il cesse d'être le même; et l'art du grand poète et du grand peintre est de vous montrer une circonstance fugitive qui vous avait échappé. . . .

Sachez que c'est à cette multitude de petites choses que tient l'illusion: il y a bien de la difficulté à les imaginer, il y en a bien encore à les rendre. Le geste est quelquefois aussi sublime que le mot, et puis ce sont toutes

ces vérités de détail qui préparent l'âme aux impressions fortes des grands événements. Lorsque votre impatience aura été suspendue par ces délais momentanés qui lui servaient de digues, avec quelle impétuosité ne se répandra-t-elle pas au moment où il plaira au poète de les rompre? C'est alors qu'affaîssés de douleur, ou transportés de joie, vous n'aurez plus la force de retenir vos larmes prêtes à couler, et de vous dire à vous-mêmes: *Mais peut-être que cela n'est pas vrai.* Cette pensée a été éloignée de vous peu à peu, et elle est si loin qu'elle ne se présentera pas.<sup>9</sup>

After allowance is made for the exaggeration which resulted from the occasion (Richardson's death) and from Diderot's temperament, these words remain substantially true. The thing which is new and significant in Richardson's method is accuracy and immediacy of presentation; Prévost's alterations are in the direction of what Richardson calls "narrative" writing. Where Richardson reports a conversation in full for ten pages, Prévost puts into a paragraph the substance of the conversation. Richardson devotes a volume to the sentiments and opinions of two persons after Sir Charles' return from Italy; Prévost omits three-quarters of that account.

Prévost's versions, then, are inadequate renderings of the originals, for Prévost found distasteful what is most peculiarly Richardsonian. There are, however, those who believe that what is peculiarly Richardsonian is what is worst in Richardson; that Richardson wrote great novels in spite of himself, without knowing what he was doing; and that therefore some such revision as Prévost undertook improves the novels. Certainly the story is told more smoothly and rapidly in the French version, with fewer interruptions and exasperating delays. If the reader expect a "mere *novel* or *romance*," Richardson's "*longueurs et langueurs*" will displease him; he had better read the French versions, or let him heed the warning of Dr. Johnson: "Why, Sir, if you were to read Richardson for the story, your impatience would be so much fretted that you would hang yourself."

<sup>9</sup> "Eloge," in *Clarisse*, I, 24-27.

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